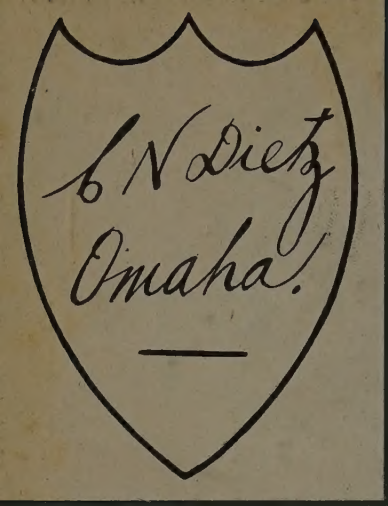
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DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE OF
SAMUEL PEPYS, F.R.S.

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OF

SAMUEL PEPYS, F.R.S.

SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY IN THE REIGNS OF CHARLES II. AND JAMES II.

WITH A LIFE AND NOTES BY

RICHARD, LORD BRAYBROOKE

A VERBATIM REPRINT OF THE EDITION OF 1848-1849
WITH A COPIOUS INDEX

IN FOUR VOLUMES.—VOLUME IV.

LONDON
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PATERNOSTER SQUARE
1890

Diary of Samuel Pepys.

1668 (*continued*).

SEPTEMBER 1st. To Bartholomew Fair, and there saw several sights; among others, the mare that tells money, and many things, to admiration; and, among others, come to me, when she was bid to go to him of the company, that most loved a pretty wench in a corner. And this did cost me 12*d.* to the horse, which I had flung him before, and did give me occasion to kiss a mighty *belle fille* that was exceeding plain, but *fort belle.*

2d. Fast-day for the burning of London, strictly observed.

3d. To my bookseller's, for "Hobbs's Leviathan,"[1] which is now mightily called for; and what was heretofore sold for 8*s.* I now give 24*s.* for, at the second hand, and is sold for 30*s.*, it being a book the Bishops will not let be printed again.

4th. At the Office all the morning; and at noon my wife, and Deb., and Mercer, and W. Hewer and I to the Fair, and there, at the old house, did eat a pig, and was pretty merry, but saw no sights, my wife having a mind to see the play "Bartholomew-Fair," with puppets. And it is an excellent play; the more I see it, the more I love

[1] "Leviathan," by Thomas Hobbes, of Malmesbury, published in 1651. It was reprinted in 1680, with its old date.

the wit of it; only the business of abusing the Puritans begins to grow stale, and of no use, they being the people that, at last, will be found the wisest. And here Knipp come to us, and sat with us, and thence took coach in two coaches, and losing one another, my wife, and Knipp, and I to Hercules Pillars, and there supped, and I did take from her mouth the words and notes of her song of "the Larke," which pleases me mightily. And so set her at home, and away we home, where our company come before us. This night Knipp tells us that there is a Spanish woman lately come over, that pretends to sing as well as Mrs. Knight; both of whom I must endeavour to hear.

5th. To Mr. Hales's new house, where, I find, he hath finished my wife's hand, which is better than the other; and here I find Harris's picture, done in his habit of "Henry the Fifth;"[1] mighty like a player, but I do not think the picture near so good as any yet he hath made for me: however, it is pretty well.

6th. (Lord's-day.) Up betimes, and got myself ready to go by water, and about nine o'clock took boat with Henry Russell to Gravesend, coming thither about one, where, at the Ship, I dined; and thither come to me Mr. Hosier, whom I went to speak with, about several businesses of work that he is doing, and I would have him do, of writing work, for me. And I did go with him to his lodging, and there did see his wife, a pretty tolerable woman, and do find him upon an extraordinary good work of designing a method of keeping our Storekeeper's Accounts, in the Navy. Here I should have met with Mr. Wilson, but he is sick, and could not come from Chatham to me. So, having done with Hosier, I took boat again the beginning of the flood, and come home by nine at night, with much pleasure, it being a fine day.

[1] There is a mezzotint of Joseph Harris, in the character of Cardinal Wolsey, in the Pepysian Library at Cambridge.

Going down I spent reading of the five sermons of five several styles, worth comparing one with another; but I do think, when all is done, that, contrary to the design of the book, the Presbyterian style and the Independant are the best of the five sermons to be preached; and this I do, by the best of my present judgement, think. My boy was with me, and read to me all day, and we sang a while together, and so home to supper a little, and so to bed.

7th. With my Lord Brouncker, (who was this day in an unusual manner merry, I believe with drink) J. Minnes, and W. Pen to Bartholomew-Fair; and there saw the dancing mare again, which, to-day, I find to act much worse than the other day, she forgetting many things, which her master beat her for, and was mightily vexed; and then the dancing of the ropes, and also the little stage-play, which is very ridiculous.

8th. Up; and by water to White Hall, and to St. James's, there to talk a little with Mr. Wren about the private business we are upon, in the Office, where he tells me he finds that they all suspect me to be the author of the great letter, which I value not, being satisfied that it is the best thing I could ever do for myself; and so, after some discourse of this kind more, I back to the Office, and there all the morning; and after dinner to it again, all the afternoon, and very late, and then home to supper, where met W. Batelier and Betty Turner, and, after some talk with them, and supper, we to bed. This day, I received so earnest an invitation again from Roger Pepys, to come to Sturbridge-Fair, that I resolved to let my wife go, which she shall do the next week.

9th. To the Duke of Richmond's lodgings by his desire, by letter, yesterday. I find him at his lodgings in the little building in the bowling-green, at White Hall, that was begun to be built by Captain Rolt. They are fine rooms. I did hope to see his lady; but she, I hear, is in the country. His business was about his yacht, and he

seems a mighty good-natured man, and did presently write me a warrant for a doe from Cobham, when the season comes, buck season being past. I shall make much of this acquaintance, that I may live to see his lady near. Thence to Westminster, to Sir R. Long's Office:[1] and, going, met Mr. George Montagu, who talked and complimented me mightily; and long discourse I had with him, who, for news, tells me for certain that Trevor do come to be Secretary at Michaelmas, and that Morrice goes out, and he believes, without any compensation. He tells me that now Buckingham do rule all; and the other day, in the King's journey he is now on, at Bagshot, and that way, he caused Prince Rupert's horses to be turned out of an inne, and caused his own to be kept there, which the Prince complained of to the King, and the Duke of York seconded the complaint; but the King did overrule it for Buckingham, by which there are high displeasures among them; and Buckingham and Arlington rule all. To White Hall, where Brouncker, W. Pen, and I attended the Commissioners of the Treasury about the victualling-contract, where high words between Sir Thomas Clifford and us, and myself more particularly, who told him that something, that he said was told him about this business, was a flat untruth. However, we went on to our business in the examination of the draught, and so parted, and I vexed at what happened.

10th. There dined with me Batelier and his wife, and Mercer, and my people, at a good venison-pasty; and after dinner I and W. Howe, who come to see me, by water to the Temple, and met our four women, my wife, W. Batelier, Mercer, and Deb., at the Duke's play-house, and there saw "The Maid in the Mill," revived—a pretty, harmless old play. I to the Office, where a child is laid at Sir J. Minnes's door, as there was one heretofore. Thence to Unthanke's, and 'Change, where wife did a

[1] At the Exchequer, of which he was Auditor.

little business, while Mercer and I staid in the coach; and, in a quarter of an hour, I taught her the whole Larke's song perfectly, so excellent an eare she hath. Here we at Unthanke's 'light, and walked them to White Hall, my wife mighty angry at it, and did give me ill words before Batelier, which vexed me, but I made no matter of it, but vexed to myself. So landed them, it being fine moonshine, at the Bear, and so took water to the other side, and home.

12th. To the Office, where till noon, and I did see great whispering among my brethren about their replies to the Duke of York, which vexed me, though I know no occasion for it; for I have no manner of ground to fear them. At noon home to dinner, and, after dinner, to work all the afternoon again. At home late, and so to bed.

13th. (Lord's-day.) By coach to St. James's, and met, to my wish, the Duke of York and Mr. Wren; and understand the Duke of York hath received answers from Brouncker, W. Pen, and J. Minnes; and as soon as he saw me, he bid Mr. Wren read them over with me. So having no opportunity of talk with the Duke of York, and Mr. Wren some business to do, he put them into my hands like an idle companion, to take home with me before himself had read them, which do give me great opportunity of altering my answer, if there was cause. After supper, made my wife to read them all over, wherein she is mighty useful to me; and I find them all evasions, and in many things false, and in few, to the full purpose. Little said reflective on me, though W. Pen and J. Minnes do mean me in one or two places, and J. Minnes a little more plainly would lead the Duke of York to question the exactness of my keeping my records; but all to no purpose. My mind is mightily pleased by this, if I can but get time to have a copy taken of them, for my future use; but I must return them to-morrow. So to bed.

14th. Up betimes, and walked to the Temple, and

stopped, viewing the Exchange, and Paul's, and St. Fayth's, where strange how the very sight of the stones falling from the top of the steeple do make me sea-sick! But no hurt, I hear, hath yet happened in all this work of the steeple, which is very much. So from the Temple I by coach to St. James's, where I find Sir W. Pen and Lord Anglesey, who delivered this morning his answer to the Duke of York, but I could not see it. But after being above with the Duke of York, I down with Mr. Wren; and he and I read all over that I had, and I expounded them to him, and did so order it that I had them home with me, so that I shall, to my heart's wish, be able to take a copy of them. After dinner, I by water to White Hall; and there, with the Cofferer and Sir Stephen Fox, attended the Commissioners of the Treasury, about bettering our fund; and are promised it speedily.

15th. Up mighty betimes, my wife and people, Mercer lying here all night, by three o'clock, and I about five; and they before, and I after them, to the coach in Bishopsgate Street, which was not ready to set out. So took wife and Mercer and Deb. and W. Hewer (who are all to set out this day for Cambridge, to cosen Roger Pepys's, to see Sturbridge Fayre); and I showed them the Exchange, which is very finely carried on, with good dispatch. So walked back and saw them gone, there being only one man in the coach besides them; and so home to the Office. To the King's playhouse, to see a new play, acted but yesterday, a translation out of French by Dryden, called "The Ladys à la Mode:"[1] so mean a

[1] No play called "The Ladies a la Mode" has been traced in 1668, or in any earlier or later year. A Comedy entitled "Love a la Mode" was brought out very soon after the Restoration, but it was anonymous. Pepys is believed to be the only authority for attributing the piece to Dryden, who possibly had a hand in it, but did not print the play, on account of its ill success. A Comedy named "Damoyselles a la Mode," and printed in 1667, 8vo., is mentioned by Langbaine, p. 56,

thing as, when they came to say it would be acted again to-morrow, both he that said it, Beeson,[1] and the pit fell a-laughing, there being this day not a quarter of the pit full.

16th. Walking it to the Temple, and in my way observe that the Stockes[2] are now pulled quite down; and it will make the coming into Cornhill and Lumberd Street mighty noble. I stopped, too, at Paul's, and there did go into St. Fayth's Church, and also in the body of the west part of the Church; and do see a hideous sight of the walls of the Church ready to fall, that I was in fear as long as I was in it: and here I saw the great vaults underneath the body of the Church. No hurt, I hear, is done yet, since their going to pull down the Church and steeple; but one man, one Mound, this week fell from the top of the roof, of the east end, that stands next the steeple, and there broke himself all to pieces. It is pretty here to see how the late Church was but a case wrought over the old Church; for you may see the very old pillars standing whole within the wall of this. When I come to St. James's, I find the Duke of York gone with the King to see the muster of the Guards in Hyde Park; and their Colonel, the Duke of Monmouth, to take his command this day of the King's Life-Guard, by surrender of my Lord Gerard. So I took a hackney-coach, and saw it all: and indeed it was mighty noble, and their firing mighty fine, and the Duke of Monmouth in mighty rich clothes: but the well-ordering of the men I understand not. Here, among a thousand coaches that were there, I saw and

as written by Richard Flecknoe, and dedicated to the Duchess of Newcastle; but it does not appear to have ever been acted, though, in point of title and date, it comes very near what is wanted.

[1] Probably Beeston, who had been Manager of the Cockpit Theatre.

[2] The Stocks Market took its name from a pair of stocks erected near this spot.

spoke to Mrs. Pierce: and by and by Mr. Wren hunts me out, and gives me my Lord Anglesey's answer to the Duke of York's letter, where, I perceive, he do do what he can to hurt me, by bidding the Duke of York call for my books: but this will do me all the right in the world, and yet I am troubled at it. So away out of the Park, and home; and there Mr. Gibson and I to dinner: and all the afternoon with him, writing over anew, and a little altering, my answer to the Duke of York, which I have not yet delivered, and so have the opportunity of doing it after seeing all their answers, though this do give me occasion to alter very little. This done, he to write it over, and I to the Office, where late, and then home; and he had finished it; and then he to read to me the Life of Archbishop Laud,[1] wrote by Dr. Heylin; which is a shrewd book, but that which I believe will do the Bishops in general no great good, but hurt, it pleads for so much Popish. This day my father's letters tell me of the death of poor Fancy, in the country, big with puppies, which troubles me, as being one of my oldest acquaintances and servants. Also good Stankes is dead.

17th. At noon comes Knipp, with design to dine with Lord Brouncker, but she being undressed, and there being much company, dined with me; and after dinner I out with her, and carried her to the playhouse; and in the way did give her five guineas as a fairing, I having given her nothing a great while, and her coming hither sometimes having been matter of cost to her. So to the King's playhouse, and saw "Rollo, Duke of Normandy," which, for old acquaintance, pleased me pretty well. This evening Batelier comes to tell me that he was going down to Cambridge to my company, to see the Fair, which vexed me, and the more because I fear he do know that Knipp did dine with me to-day.

[1] "Cyprianus Anglicus; or, the Life and Death of Archbishop Laud," by Peter Heylin, D.D.

18th. To St. James's, and there took a turn or two in the Park; and then up to the Duke of York, and there had opportunity of delivering my answer to his late letter, which he did not read, but give to Mr. Wren, as looking on it as a thing I needed not have done, but only that I might not give occasion to the rest to suspect my communication with the Duke of York against them. So now I am at rest in that matter, and shall be more, when my copies are finished of their answers. To White Hall, and thither comes the Duke of York to us, where I find him somewhat sour, and particularly angry with Lord Anglesey for his not being there now, nor at other times. To the King's house, and saw a piece of "Henry the Fourth," at the end of the play thinking to have gone abroad with Knipp, but it was too late, and she to get her part against to-morrow, in "The Silent Woman," and so I only set her at home, and away home.

19th. To the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Silent Woman;" the best comedy, I think, that ever was wrote: and sitting by Shadwell[1] the poet, he was big with admiration of it. Here was my Lord Brouncker and W. Pen and their ladies in the box, being grown mighty kind of a sudden; but, God knows, it will last but a little while, I dare swear. Knipp did her part mighty well. And so home straight, and to write, and particularly to my cosen Roger, who, W. Hewer and my wife writes me, do use them with mighty plenty and noble entertainment: so to supper, and to bed. All the news now is, that Mr. Trevor is for certain to be Secretary, in Morrice's place, which the Duke of York did himself tell me yesterday; and also that Parliament is to be adjourned to the 1st of March, which do please me well, hoping thereby to get my things in a little better order than I should have done; and the less attendances at that end of the town in winter.

20th. To Church, and heard a dull sermon of Dr. Hicks

[1] Thomas Shadwell, the dramatic writer. Ob. 1692.

who is a suitor to Mrs. Howell, the widow of our turner of the Navy; and thence home to dinner, staying till past one o'clock for Harris, whom I invited, and to bring Shadwell the poet with him; but they came not, and so a good dinner lost, through my own folly. And so to dinner alone, having since Church heard the boy read over Dryden's Reply to Sir R. Howard's Answer, about his Essay of Poesy, and a Letter in answer to that; the last whereof is mighty silly, in behalf of Howard. To visit Mrs. Pierce, with whom, and him, I staid a little while, and do hear how the Duchesse of Monmouth is at this time in great trouble of the shortness of her lame leg, which is likely to grow shorter and shorter, that she will never recover it. So back, and walked in Gray's Inn walks a while, but little company; and so over the fields to Clerkenwell, to see whether I could find that the fair Botelers do live there still, I seeing Frances the other day in a coach with Cary Dillon, her old servant, but know not where she lives.

21st. To St. James's, and there the Duke of York did of his own accord come to me, and tell me that he had read, and do like of, my answers to the objections which he did give me the other day, about the Navy; and so did Sir W. Coventry too, who told me that the Duke of York had shown him them. To Southwarke-Fair, very dirty, and there saw the puppet-show of Whittington, which was pretty to see; and how that idle thing do work upon people that see it, and even myself too! And thence to Jacob Hall's dancing on the ropes, where I saw such action as I never saw before, and mightily worth seeing; and here took acquaintance with a fellow that carried me to a tavern, whither come the musick of this booth, and by and by Jacob Hall himself, with whom I had a mind to speak, to hear whether he had ever any mischief by falls in his time. He told me, "Yes, many, but never to the breaking of a limb:" he seems a mighty strong man. So

giving them a bottle or two of wine, I away with Payne, the waterman. He, seeking me at the play, did get a link to light me, and so light me to the Beare, where Bland, my waterman, waited for me with gold and other things he kept for me, to the value of £40 and more, which I had about me, for fear of my pockets being cut. So by link-light through the bridge, it being mighty dark, but still weather, and so home, where I find my draught of "The Resolution" come, finished, from Chatham; but will cost me, one way or other, above £12 or £13, in the board, frame, and garnishing, which is a little too much, but I will not be beholden to the King's Officers that do it. This day I met Mr. Moore in the New Exchange, and had much talk of my Lord's concernments. This day also came out first the new five-pieces in gold, coined by the Guiny Company;[1] and I did get two pieces of Mr. Holder.

22d. To the Office, where sitting all the morning: at noon, home to dinner, with my people, and so to the Office again, where busy all the afternoon, and in the evening spent my time walking in the dark, in the garden, to favour my eyes, which I find nothing but ease do help. In the garden there comes to me my Lady Pen and Mrs. Turner and Markham, and we sat and talked together, and I carried them home, and there eat a bit of something, and by and by comes Sir W. Pen, and eat with us, and mighty merry—in appearance, at least, he being on all occasions glad to be at friendship with me, though we hate one another, and know it on both sides. This day Mr. Wren did give me, at the Board, Commissioner

[1] Guineas took their name from the gold brought from Guinea, by the African Company, who, as an encouragement to bring over gold to be coined, were permitted, by their charter from Charles II., to have their stamp of an elephant upon the coin. There were likewise five-pound pieces, like the guinea, with the inscription upon the rim, like the crown piece.

Middleton's answer to the Duke of York's great letter; so that now I have all of them.

23d. At noon comes Mr. Evelyn to me, about some business with the Office, and there in discourse tells me of his loss, to the value of £500, which he hath met with, in a late attempt of making of bricks[1] upon an adventure with others, by which he presumed to have got a great deal of money: so that I see the most ingenious men may sometimes be mistaken. To White Hall, to attend the Commissioners of the Treasury with Alderman Backewell, about £10,000 he is to lend us for Tangier.

25th. W. Batelier with me, who is lately come from Impington, beyond which I perceive he was not, whatever his pretence at first was; and so he tells me how well and merry all are there, and how nobly used by my cosin. The Duke of York did tell me how —— Clifford is for Child, and for removing of old Officers, he saying plainly to-night, that though D. Gauden was a man that had done the best service that he believed any man, or any ten men could have done, yet that it was for the King's interest not to let it lie too long in one hand, lest nobody should be able to serve him but one. But the Duke of York did openly tell him that he was not for removing of old servants that have done well, neither in this place, nor in any other place, which is very nobly said.

26th. Could sleep but little last night, for my concernments in this business of the victualling, for Sir D. Gauden, and he comes to me, and there I did tell him all, and give him my advice, and so he away. To Charing Cross, and there into the great new Ordinary, by my Lord Mulgrave's,[2] being led thither by Mr. Beale, one of Oliver's,

[1] Evelyn seems to allude to this speculation, when he records that "Sir John Keviet came to article with me about his brickwork."—*Diary*, 7th September, 1667.

[2] John Sheffield, third Earl of Mulgrave, afterwards created Marquis and Duke of Normanby and Buckinghamshire. He was suc-

and now of the King's Guards; and he sat with me while I had two quilted pigeons, very handsome and good meat: and there he and I talked of our old acquaintances, W. Clerke and others, he being a very civil man, and so parted. To White Hall, and there attended the King and Council. I present, and then withdrew; and they spent two hours at least afterwards about it, and at last rose; and to my great content, the Duke of York, at coming out, told me that it was carried for D. Gauden at *6d.*, *8d.*, and *8¾d.*; but with great difficulty, I understand, both from him and others, so much that Sir Edward Walker told me that he prays to God he may never live to need to plead his merit, for D. Gauden's sake; for that it hath stood him in no stead in this business at all, though both he and all the world that speaks of him, speaks of him as the most deserving man of any servant of the King's, of the whole nation, and so I think he is: but it is done, and my heart is glad at it. To my house, where D. Gauden did talk a little, and he do mightily acknowledge my kindness to him, and I know I have done the King and myself good service in it. This noon I went to my Lady Peterborough's house, and talked with her about the money due to her Lord, and it gives me great trouble, her importunity and impertinency about it. This afternoon at Court I met with Lord Hinchingbroke, newly come out of the country, who tells me that Creed's business[1] with Mrs. Pickering will do, which I am neither troubled nor glad at.

27th. To White Hall, calling in at Somerset House Chapel, and also at the Spanish Ambassador's, at York House, and there did hear a little masse: and so to White Hall; and there the King being gone to Chapel, I to walk all the morning in the Park, where I met Mr. Wren; and

ceeded by his only son, Edmund, with whom all the honours became extinct, in 1737.

[1] Their marriage, which took place soon after.

he and I walked together in the Pell-Mell, it being most summer weather that ever was seen: and here talking of several things: of the corruption of the Court, and how unfit it is for ingenuous men, and himself particularly, to live in it, where a man cannot live but he must spend money, and cannot get it suitably, without breach of his honour: and he did thereupon tell me of the basest thing of my Lord Barkeley that ever was heard of any man, which was this:—how the Duke of York's Commissioners do let his wine-licenses at a bad rate, and being offered a better, they did persuade the Duke of York to give some satisfaction to the former to quit it, and let it to the latter, which being done, my Lord Barkeley did make the bargain for the former to have £1500 a-year to quit it; whereof, since, it is come to light that they were to have but £800 and himself £700, which the Duke of York hath ever since for some years paid, though the second bargain hath been broken, and the Duke of York lost by it, half of what the first was. He told me that there had been a seeming accommodation between the Duke of York and the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Arlington, the two latter desiring it; but yet that there is not true agreement between them, but they do labour to bring in all new creatures into play, and the Duke of York do oppose it. Thence, he gone, I to the Queene's Chapel, and there heard some good singing; and so to White Hall, and saw the King and Queene at dinner: and thence with Sir Stephen Fox to dinner; and the Cofferer with us; and there mighty kind usage, and good discourse. Thence spent all the afternoon walking in the Park, and then in the evening at Court, on the Queene's side; and there met Mr. Godolphin, who tells me that the news is true we heard yesterday, of my Lord Sandwich's being come to Mount's-Bay, in Cornwall. This night, in the Queene's drawing-room, my Lord Brouncker told me the difference that is now between the three Ambassadors

here, the Venetian,[1] French, and Spaniard; the third not being willing to make a visit to the first, because he would not receive him at the door; who is willing to give him as much respect as he did to the French, who was used no otherwise, and who refuses now to take more of him, upon being desired thereto, in order to the making an accommodation in this matter.

28th. Knipp's maid comes to me, to tell me that the women's day at the playhouse is to-day, and that therefore I must be there, to encrease their profit. I did give the pretty maid Betty that comes to me, half-a-crown for coming, and had a kiss or two—*elle* being mighty *jolie*. By water to St. James's, and there had good opportunity of speaking with the Duke of York, who desires me again, talking on that matter, to prepare something for him to do for the better managing of our Office, telling me that, my Lord Keeper and he talking about it yesterday, my Lord Keeper did advise him to do so, it being better to come from him than otherwise, which I have promised to do. Thence to my Lord Burlington's house,[2] the first time I ever was there, it being the house built by Sir John Denham, next to Clarendon House; and here I visited my Lord Hinchingbroke and his lady; Mr. Sidney Montagu being last night come to town unexpectedly from Mount's-Bay, where he left my Lord well, eight days since, so as we now hourly expect to hear of his arrival at Portsmouth. Sidney is mighty grown; and I am glad I am here to see him at his first coming, though it cost me dear, for here I come to be necessitated to supply them with £500 for my Lord.[3] He sent him up with a declaration to his friends, of the necessity of his being

[1] Pietro Mocenigo, of whose entry into London, on the 19th September, 1668, an account is given in Evelyn's Diary.

[2] In Piccadilly: it still preserves its name.

[3] See Pepys's letter to Lord Sandwich on this subject in the Correspondence.

presently supplied with £2000; but I do not think he will get £1000: however, I think it becomes my duty to my Lord to do something extraordinary in this, and the rather because I have been remiss in writing to him during this voyage, more than ever I did in my life, and more indeed than was fit for me. By and by comes Sir W. Godolphin to see Mr. Sidney, who, I perceive, is much dissatisfied that he should come to town last night, and not yet be with my Lord Arlington, who, and all the town, hear of his being come, and he did, it seems, take notice of it to Godolphin this morning: so that I perceive this remissness in affairs do continue in my Lord's managements still, which I am sorry for, but, above all, to see in what a condition my Lord is for money, that I dare swear he do not know where to take up £500 of any man in England at this time, upon his word, but of myself, as I believe by the sequel hereof it will appear. Here I first saw and saluted my Lady Burlington,[1] a very fine speaking lady, and a good woman, but old, and not handsome; but a brave woman. Here my Lady Hinchingbroke tells me that she hath bought most of the wedding-clothes for Mrs. Pickering, so that the thing is gone through, and will soon be ended. Here I also, standing by a candle that was brought for sealing a letter, do set my periwigg a-fire, which made such an odd noise nobody could tell what it was till they saw the flame, my back being to the candle. To my vintner's, and there did only look upon his wife, which is mighty handsome; and so to my glove and ribbon shop, in Fenchurch Street, and did the like there. And there, stopping against the door of the shop, saw Mrs. Horsfall, now a late widow, in a coach: I to her, and shook her by the hand, and so she away; and I by coach to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The City Match,"[2]

[1] Elizabeth, sole daughter and heir to Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, wife of Richard Boyle, first Earl of Burlington.

[2] A Comedy, by Jasper Maine, D.D.

not acted these thirty years, and but a silly play: the King and Court there; the house, for the women's sake, mighty full. So I to White Hall, and there all the evening on the Queene's side; and it being a most summer-like day, and a fine warm evening, the Italians came in a barge under the leads, before the Queene's drawing-room; and so the Queene and ladies went out, and heard them, for almost an hour: and the singing was indeed very good together; but yet there was but one voice that alone did appear considerable, and that was Signior Joanni.[1] This done, by and by they went in: and here I saw Mr. Sidney Montagu kiss the Queene's hand, who was mighty kind to him, and the ladies looked mightily on him; and the King came by and by, and did talk to him. So I away by coach with Alderman Backewell home, who is mighty kind to me, more than ordinary, in his expressions. But I do hear this day what troubles me, that Sir W. Coventry is quite out of play, the King seldom speaking to him; and that there is a design of making a Lord Treasurer, and that my Lord Arlington shall be the man; but I cannot believe it. But yet the Duke of Buckingham hath it in his mind, and those with him, to make a thorough alteration in things; and, among the rest, Coventry to be out. The Duke of York did this day tell me how hot the whole party was in the business of Gauden; and particularly, my Lord Anglesey tells me, the Duke of Buckingham, for Child against Gauden; but the Duke of York did stand stoutly to it.

29th. (Tuesday. Michaelmas day.) Up, and to the Office, where all the morning.

* * * * * *

October 11th.[2] To Church, where I find Parson Mills

[1] Probably Giovanni B. Draghi: see vol. iii. p. 25.

[2] In this part of the Diary, no entry occurs for thirteen days, though there are several pages left blank. During the interval, Pepys went into the country, as he subsequently mentions his having been at

come to town and preached, and the Church full, most people being now come home to town, though the season of year is as good as summer, in all respects. At noon dined at home with my wife, all alone. At night comes Mr. Turner and his wife, and there they tell me that Mr. Harper is dead at Deptford, and so now all his and my care is, how to secure his being Storekeeper in his stead; and here they and their daughter, and a kinswoman that come along with them, did sup with me, and pretty merry.

12th. Up, and with Mr. Turner to White Hall, to enquire when the Duke of York will be in town, in order to Mr. Turner's going down to Audley End, about his place; and here I met in St. James's Park with one that told me that the Duke of York would be in town to-morrow. I did stop my intentions of going to the Court, also this day, about securing Mr. Turner's place of Petty-Purveyor to Mr. Hater. Meeting a gentleman of my Lord Middleton's looking for me about the payment of the £1000 lately ordered to his Lord, in advance of his pay, which shall arise upon his going Governor to Tangier, I did go to his Lord's lodgings, and there spoke the first time with him, and find him a shrewd man, but a drinking man, I think, as the world says; but a man that hath seen much of the world, and is a Scot. I offered him my service, though I can do him little; but he sends his man home with me, where I made him stay, till I had gone to Sir W. Pen, to bespeak him about Mr. Hater, who, contrary to my fears, did appear very friendly, to my great content; for I was afraid of his appearing for his man Burroughs. But he did not, but did declare to me afterwards his intentions to desire an excuse in his own

Saxham, in Suffolk, during the King's visit to Lord Crofts, which took place at this time. He might also probably have gone to Impington, to fetch his wife, whom we find dining at her home on the 11th October. At all events, the pages left blank were never filled up.

business, to be eased of the business of Comptroller, his health not giving him power to stay always in town, but he must go into the country. Home, where I find Sir H. Cholmly come to town; and is come hither to see me: and he is a man that I love mightily, as being, of a gentleman, the most industrious that ever I saw. He staid with me awhile talking, and telling me his obligations to my Lord Sandwich, which I was glad of; and that the Duke of Buckingham is now chief of all men in this kingdom, which I knew before; and that he do think the Parliament will hardly ever meet again; which is a great many men's thoughts, and I shall not be sorry for it. I home, and there to dinner, and Mr. Pelling with us; and thence my wife and Mercer, and W. Hewer and Deb., to the King's playhouse, and afterwards by water with them, and there we did hear the Eunuch, who, it seems, is a Frenchman, but long bred in Italy, sing, which I seemed to take as new to me, though I saw him on Saturday last, but said nothing of it; but such action and singing I could never have imagined to have heard, and do make good whatever Tom Hill used to tell me. Here we met with Mr. Batelier and his sister, and so they home with us in two coaches, and there at my house staid and supped, and this night my bookseller Shrewsbury comes, and brings my books of Martyrs, and I did pay him for them, and did this night make the young women before supper to open all the volumes for me. Read a ridiculous nonsensical book set out by Will. Pen[1] for the Quakers; but so full

[1] Penn's first work, entitled "Truth exalted, in a short but sure testimony against all those religions, faiths, and worships, that have been formed and followed, in the darkness of apostacy; and for that glorious light which is now risen, and shines forth, in the life and doctrine of the despised Quakers...by W. Penn, whom divine love constrains, in holy contempt, to trample on Egypt's glory, not fearing the King's wrath, having beheld the Majesty of Him who is invisible."

of nothing but nonsense, that I was ashamed to read in it.

13th. With my Lord Brouncker, and did get his ready assent to T. Hater's having of Mr. Turner's place, and so Sir J. Minnes's also: but when we come to sit down at the Board, comes to us Mr. Wren this day to town, and tells me that James Southern do petition the Duke of York for the Storekeeper's place of Deptford, which did trouble me much, and also the Board, though upon discourse, after he was gone, we did resolve to move hard for our Clerks, and that places of preferment may go according to seniority and merit. After doing some business, I with Mr. Turner to the Duke of Albemarle's at night; and there did speak to him about his appearing to Mr. Wren as a friend to Mr. Turner, which he did take kindly from me; and so away thence, well pleased with what we had now done, and so I with him home, stopping at my Lord Brouncker's, and getting his hand to a letter I wrote to the Duke of York for T. Hater. At my Lord Middleton's, to give him an account of what I had done this day, with his man, at Alderman Backwell's, about the getting of his £1000 paid;[1] and here he did take occasion to discourse about the business of the Dutch war, which, he says, he was always an enemy to, and did discourse well of it, I saying little, but pleased to hear him talk, and to see how some men may by age come to know much, and yet by their drinking and other pleasures render themselves not very considerable. I did this day find by discourse with somebody that this nobleman was the great Major-General Middleton that was of the Scots army, in the beginning of the late war against the King.

14th. To White Hall, and there walked to St. James's, where I find the Court mighty full, it being the Duke of York's birthday; and he mighty fine, and all the musick,

[1] It was probably for this payment that the tally was obtained, the loss of which caused Pepys so much anxiety: see p. 46, *post*.

one after another, to my great content. Here I met with Sir H. Cholmly; and he and I to walk, and to my Lord Barkeley's new house,[1] there to see a new experiment of a cart, which, by having two little wheeles fastened to the axle-tree, is said to make it go with half the ease and more, than another cart; but we did not see the trial made. To St. James's, and there met my brethren; but the Duke of York being gone out, and to-night being a play there, and a great festival, we would not stay, but went all of us to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Faythful Shepherdess" again, that we might hear the French eunuch sing, which we did, to our great content, though I do admire his action as much as his singing, being both beyond all I ever saw or heard.

15th. After dinner, my wife and I and Deb. out by coach to the upholsterer's in Long Lane, Alderman Reeves's, and then to Alderman Crow's, to see variety of hangings, and were mightily pleased therewith; and at last I think we shall pitch upon the best suit of Apostles, where three pieces for my room will come to almost £80: so home. This day at the Board came unexpected the warrants from the Duke of York for Mr. Turner and Hater, for the places they desire, which contents me mightily.

16th. I took my wife by coach and Deb., and showed her Mr. Wren's hangings and bed, at St. James's, and Sir W. Coventry's in the Pell-Mell, for our satisfaction in what we are going to buy; and so by Mr. Crow's home, about his hangings, and do pitch upon buying his second suit of Apostles—the whole suit, which comes to £83; and this we think the best for us, having now the whole suit, to answer any other rooms or service. With Mr. Hater by water to St. James's: there Mr. Hater, to give Mr. Wren

[1] See the description of this splendid mansion, which afterwards burnt to the ground by accident, in Evelyn's Diary, vol. i., p. 457. A small view of it, taken from an old map, is given in Mrs. Godolphin's Life, vol. i., p. 457.

thanks for his kindness about his place that he hath lately granted him, of Petty Purveyor of petty missions, upon the removal of Mr. Turner to be Storekeeper at Deptford, on the death of Harper. To my aunt Wight's, the first time, I think, these two years; and there mighty kindly used, and had a barrel of oysters, and so to look up and down their house, they having hung a room since I was there, but with hangings not fit to be seen with mine, which I find all come home to-night.

17th. Late home, and there with much pleasure getting Mr. Gibbs, that writes well, to write the name upon my new draught of "The Resolution;" and so set it up, and altered the situation of some of my pictures in my closet, to my extraordinary content. Mr. Moore and Seymour were with me this afternoon, who tell me that my Lord Sandwich was received mighty kindly by the King, and is in exceeding great esteem with him, and the rest about him; but I doubt it will be hard for him to please both the King and the Duke of York, which I shall be sorry for. Mr. Moore tells me the sad condition my Lord is in, in his estate and debts; and the way he now lives in, so high, and so many vain servants about him, that he must be ruined, if he do not take up, which, by the grace of God, I will put him upon, when I come to see him.

18th. With Lord Brouncker to Lincolne's Inn, and Mr. Ball, to visit Dr. Wilkins, now newly Bishop of Chester: and he received us mighty kindly; and had most excellent discourse from him about his Book of Reall Character: and so I with Lord Brouncker to White Hall, and there saw the Queene and some ladies.

19th. With my wife and Deb. and Mr. Harman, the upholsterer, and carried them to take measure of Mr. Wren's bed at St. James's, I being resolved to have just such another made me. To the Duke of York's play-house; and there saw, the first time acted, "The Queene

of Arragon,"[1] an old Blackfriars' play, but an admirable one, so good that I am astonished at it, and wonder where it hath lain asleep all this while, that I have never heard of it before. Here met W. Batelier and Mrs. Hunt, Deb's aunt; and saw her home—a very witty woman, and one that knows this play, and understands a play mighty well. Left her at home in Jewen Street, and we home, and to supper, and my wife to read to me, and so to bed.

20th. This day a new girl come to us in the room of Nell, who is lately, about four days since, gone away, being grown lazy and proud. This girl to stay only till we have a boy, which I intend to keep when I have a coach, which I am now about. At this time my wife and I mighty busy laying out money in dressing up our best chamber, and thinking of a coach and coachman and horses, &c.; and the more because of Creed's being now married to Mrs. Pickering; a thing I could never have expected, but it is done about seven or ten days since. I walked out to look for a coach, and saw many; and did light on one for which I bid £50, which do please me mightily.

21st. At noon to dinner to Mr. Batelier's, his mother coming this day a-housewarming to him, and several friends of his, to which he invited us. Here mighty merry, and his mother the same: I heretofore took her for a gentlewoman of understanding. I rose from table before the rest, because under an obligation to go to my Lord Brouncker's, where to meet several gentlemen of the Royal Society, to go and make a visit to the French Embassador Colbert, at Leicester House, he having endeavoured to make one or two to my Lord Brouncker, as our President, but he was not within, but I came too late, they being gone before: so I followed to Leicester House;[2] but they are gone in and up before me; and so

[1] A Tragi-Comedy, by William Habington. Upon its revival, the prologue and epilogue were written by Butler, the author of Hudibras.

[2] In Leicester Square.

I away to the New Exchange, and there staid for my wife, and she come, we to Cow Lane, and there I showed her the coach which I pitch on, and she is out of herself for joy almost. But the man not within, so did nothing more towards an agreement, but to Mr. Crow's about a bed, to have his advice. *Memorandum:* that from Crow's, we went back to Charing Cross, and there left my people at their tailor's, while I to my Lord Sandwich's lodgings, who came to town the last night, and is come thither to lye: and met with him within: and among others my new cosen Creed, who looks mighty soberly; and he and I saluted one another with mighty gravity, till we came to a little more freedom of talk about it. But here I hear that Sir Gilbert Pickering is lately dead, about three days since, which makes some sorrow there, though not much, because of his being long expected to die, having been in a lethargy long. So waited on my Lord to Court, and there staid and saw the ladies awhile: and thence to my wife, and took them up; and so home, and to supper and bed.

22nd. Up, and W. Batelier's Frenchman, a perriwigg maker, comes and brings me a new one, which I liked and paid him for: a mighty genteel fellow. To Crow's, and there did see some more beds; and we shall, I think, pitch upon a camlott one, when all is done. Thence to Arundell House, where the first time we have met since the vacation, and not much company: but here much good discourse, and afterwards my Lord and others and I to the Devil tavern, and there eat and drank, and so home by coach; and there found my uncle Wight and aunt, and Woolly and his wife, and there supped, and mighty merry. And anon they gone, and Mrs. Turner staid, who was there also to talk of her husband's business; and the truth is, I was the less pleased to talk with her, for that she hath not yet owned, in any fit manner of thanks, my late and principal service to her husband about his place, which I alone ought to have been thanked for, if they

know as much as I do; but let it go: if they do not own it, I shall have it in my hand to teach them to do it. This day word come for all the Principal Officers to bring the Commissioners of Accounts their patents, which I did in the afternoon, by leaving it at their Office, but am troubled at what should be their design therein.

23rd. To my Lord Sandwich's, where I find my Lord within, but busy, private; and so I staid a little talking with the young gentlemen: and so away with Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, towards Tyburne, to see the people executed; but came too late, it being done: two men and a woman hanged. In the afternoon comes my cosin, Sidney Pickering,[1] to bring my wife and me his sister's favour for her wedding, which is kindly done. Pierce do tell me, among other news, the late frolick and debauchery of Sir Charles Sedley and Buckhurst running up and down all the night, almost naked, through the streets; and at last fighting, and being beat by the watch and clapped up all night; and how the King takes their parts; and my Lord Chief Justice Keeling hath laid the constable by the heels to answer it next Sessions: which is a horrid shame. How the King and these gentlemen did make the fiddlers of Thetford this last progress to sing them all the obscene songs they could think of. How Sir W Coventry was brought the other day to the Duchesse of York by the Duke, to kiss her hand; and did acknowledge his unhappiness to occasion her so much sorrow, declaring his intentions in it, and praying her pardon; which she did give him upon his promise to make good his pretences of innocence to her family, by his faithfulness to his Master, the Duke of York. That the Duke of Buckingham is now all in all, and will ruin Coventry, if he can: and that Coventry do now rest wholly upon the Duke of York for his standing, which is a great turn. He tells me that my Lady Castlemaine, however, is a mortal enemy to the

[1] Mrs. Creed's brother.

Duke of Buckingham, which I understand not; but, it seems, she is disgusted with his greatness, and his ill usage of her. That the King was drunk at Saxam[1] with Sedley, Buckhurst, &c., the night that my Lord Arlington came thither, and would not give him audience, or could not: which is true, for it was the night that I was there, and saw the King go up to his chamber, and was told that the King had been drinking. He tells me, too, that the Duke of York did the next day chide Bab. May for his occasioning the King's giving himself up to these gentlemen, to the neglecting of my Lord Arlington: to which he answered merrily, that there was no man in England that had a head to lose, durst do what they do, every day, with the King, and asked the Duke of York's pardon: which is a sign of a mad world; God bless us out of it!

24th. This morning comes to me the coachmaker, and agreed with me for £53, and to stand to the courtesy of what more I should give him upon the finishing of the coach: he is likely, also, to fit me with a coachman. Lord Brouncker tells me that the making Sir J. Minnes a bare Commissioner[2] is now in doing, which I am glad of, but he speaks of two new Commissioners, which I do not believe.

25th. (Lord's-day.) Up, and discoursing with my wife about our house, and many new things we are doing of, and so to Church I, and there find Jack Fenn come, and his wife, a pretty black woman: I never saw her before, nor took notice of her now. At night W. Batelier comes, and sups with us; and, after supper, to have my head combed by Deb.

26th. I was obliged to attend the Duke of York, thinking to have had a meeting of Tangier to-day, but had not; but he did take me and Mr. Wren into his closet, and

[1] Saxham, near Bury St. Edmonds, then the seat of William, Baron Crofts, long since pulled down.

[2] On his relinquishing his other office of Comptroller of the Navy.

there did press me to prepare what I had to say upon the answers of my Fellow-Officers to his great letter, which I promised to do against his coming to town again, the next week: and so to other discourse, finding plainly that he is in trouble, and apprehensions of the Reformers, and would be found to do what he can towards reforming, himself. And so thence to my Lord Sandwich's, where, after long stay, he being in talk with others privately, I to him; and there he, taking physic and keeping his chamber, I had an hour's talk with him about the ill posture of things at this time, while the King gives countenance to Sir Charles Sedley and Lord Buckhurst. He tells me that he thinks his matters do stand well with the King, and hopes to have dispatch to his mind; but I doubt it, and do see that he do fear it, too. He told me of my Lady Carteret's trouble about my writing of that letter of the Duke of York's lately to the Office, which I did not own, but declared to be of no injury to Sir G. Carteret, and that I would write a letter to him to satisfy him therein. But this I am in pain how to do, without doing myself wrong, and the end I had, of preparing a justification to myself hereafter, when the faults of the Navy come to be found out: however, I will do it in the best manner I can.

27th. This evening Mr. Spong come, and sat late with me, and first told me of the instrument called a parallelogram,[1] which I must have one of, shewing me his practice thereon, by a map of England.

28th. By coach with Mr. Gibson to Chancery Lane, and there made oath before a Master in Chancery to the Tangier account of fees, and so to White Hall, where, by and by, a Committee met, my Lord Sandwich there, but his report was not received, it being late; but only a little business done, about the supplying the place with victuals.

[1] Now generally called *pentagraph*. It is a very useful instrument, by means of which persons having no skill in drawing may copy designs, prints, &c., in any proportion.

But I did get, with great content, my account allowed of fees, with great applause by my Lord Ashly and Sir W. Pen. Thence home, calling at one or two places; and there about our workmen, who are at work upon my wife's closet, and other parts of my house, that we are all in dirt.

29th. Mr. Wren first tells us of the order from the King, come last night to the Duke of York, for signifying his pleasure to the Solicitor-General for drawing up a Commission for suspending of my Lord Anglesey, and putting in Sir Thomas Littleton and Sir Thomas Osborne,[1] the former a creature of Arlington's, and the latter of the Duke of Buckingham's, during the suspension. The Duke of York was forced to obey, and did grant it, he being to go to Newmarket this day with the King, and so the King pressed for it. But Mr. Wren do own that the Duke of York is the most wounded in this, in the world, for it is done and concluded without his privity, after his appearing for Lord Anglesey, and that it is plain that they do ayme to bring the Admiralty into Commission too, and lessen the Duke of York. This do put strange apprehensions into all our Board; only I think I am the least troubled at it, for I care not at all for it: but my Lord Brouncker and Pen do seem to think much of it.

30th. Up betimes; and Mr. Povy comes to even accounts with me, which we did, and then fell to other talk. He tells me, in short, how the King is made a child of, by Buckingham and Arlington, to the lessening of the Duke of York, whom they cannot suffer to be great, for fear of my Lord Chancellor's return, which, therefore, they make the King violent against. That he believes it is impossible

[1] Eldest son of Sir Edward Osborne, Bart.; made a Privy-Councillor 1672, and the following year constituted Lord High Treasurer, and elected K.G. in 1677. He was created Baron Kiveton and Viscount Latimer 1673, Earl of Danby 1674, Viscount Dunblaine, in Scotland, in 1675, Marquis of Caermarthen 1689, and Duke of Leeds 1694. Ob. 1712, æt. suæ 81.

these two great men can hold together long: or, at least, that the ambition of the former is so great, that he will endeavour to master all, and bring into play as many as he can. That Anglesey will not lose his place easily, but will contend in law with whoever comes to execute it. That the Duke of York, in all things, but in his amours, is led by the nose by his wife. That Sir W. Coventry is now, by the Duke of York, made friends with the Duchesse; and that he is often there, and waits on her. That he do believe that these present great men will break in time, and that Sir W. Coventry will be a great man again; for he do labour to have nothing to do in matters of the State, and is so usefull to the side that he is on, that he will stand, though at present he is quite out of play. That my Lady Castlemaine hates the Duke of Buckingham. That the Duke of York hath expressed himself very kind to my Lord Sandwich, which I am mighty glad of. That we are to expect more changes if these men stand. This done, he and I to talk of my coach, and I got him to go see it, where he finds most infinite fault with it, both as to being out of fashion and heavy, with so good reason that I am mightily glad of his having corrected me in it; and so I do resolve to have one of his build, and with his advice, both in coach and horses, he being the fittest man in the world for it.

31st. This day my Lord Anglesey was at the Office, and do seem to make nothing of this business of his suspension, resolving to bring it into the Council, where he seems not to doubt to have right, he standing upon his defence and patent, and hath put in his caveats to the several Offices: so, as soon as the King comes back, which will be on Tuesday next, he will bring it into the Council. This day Roger Pepys and his son Talbot, newly come to town, come and dined with me, and mighty glad I am to see them.

November 1st. This noon Mr. Povy sent his coach for

my wife and I to see, which we like mightily, and will endeavour to have him get us just such another.

2nd. Up, and a cold morning, by water through bridge without a cloak, and there to Mr. Wren at his chamber at White Hall, the first time of his coming thither this year, the Duchesse coming thither to-night. To visit Creed at his chamber, but his wife not come thither yet, nor do he tell me where she is, though she be in town, at Stepny, at Atkins's.[1] To Mr. Povy's about a coach, but there I find my Lords Sandwich, Peterborough, and Hinchingbroke, Charles Harbord, and Sidney Montagu; and there I was stopped, and dined mighty nobly at a good table, with one little dish at a time upon it, but mighty merry. I was glad to see it: but sorry, methought, to see my Lord have so little reason to be merry, and yet glad, for his sake, to have him cheerful. After dinner up, and looked up and down the house, and so to the cellar: and thence I slipt away, without taking leave. This day I went, by Mr. Povy's direction, to a coach-maker near him, for a coach just like his, but it was sold this very morning.

3rd. We had a great deal of do this day at the Office about Clutterbucke,[2] I declaring my dissent against the whole Board's proceedings, and I believe I shall go near to show W. Pen a very knave in it, whatever I find my Lord Brouncker.

4th. To White Hall; and there I find the King and Duke of York came the last night, and every body's mouth full of my Lord Anglesey's suspension being sealed, which it was, it seems, yesterday; so that he is prevented in his remedy at the Council; and, it seems, the two new Treasurers did kiss the King's hand this morning, brought in, by my Lord Arlington. They walked up and down together in the Court this day, and several people joyed them; but I avoided it, that I might not be seen to look

[1] Colonel Atkins. See vol. iii., p. 472.

[2] See note in vol. ii., p. 13.

either way. This day also I hear that my Lord Ormond is to be declared in Council no more Deputy Governor of Ireland, his commission being expired: and the King is prevailed with to take it out of his hands; which people do mightily admire, saying that he is the greatest subject of any prince in Christendome, and hath more acres of land than any, and hath done more for his Prince than ever any yet did. But all will not do; he must down, it seems, the Duke of Buckingham carrying all before him. But that, that troubles me most is, that they begin to talk that the Duke of York's regiment is ordered to be disbanded; and more, that undoubtedly his Admiralty will follow: which do shake me mightily, and I fear will have ill consequences in the nation, for these counsels are very mad. The Duke of York do, by all men's report, carry himself wonderfull submissive to the King, in the most humble manner in the world; but yet, it seems, nothing must be spared that tends to the keeping out the Chancellor; and that is the reason of all this. The great discourse now is, that the Parliament shall be dissolved and another called, which shall give the King the Dean and Chapter's lands; and that will put him out of debt. And it is said that Buckingham do knowingly meet daily with Wildman and other Commonwealth-men; and that when he is with them, he makes the King believe that he is with his wenches; and something looks like the Parliament's being dissolved, by Harry Brouncker's being now come back, and appearing this day the first time at White Hall; but he hath not been yet with the King, but is secure that he shall be well received, I hear. God bless us, when such men as he shall be restored! But that, that pleases me most is, that several do tell me that Pen is to be removed; and others, that he hath resigned his place; and particularly Spragg tells me for certain that he hath resigned it, and is become a partner with Gauden in the Victualling: in which I think he hath done a very cunning thing; but

I am sure I am glad of it; and it will be well for the King to have him out of this Office. Sir John Talbot[1] talks mighty high for my Lord of Ormond: and I perceive this family of the Talbots hath been raised by my Lord. This evening, my wife and I, talking of our being put out of the Office, and my going to live at Deptford at her brother's, till I can clear accounts, and rid my hands of the town, which will take me a year or more, and I do think it will be best for me to do so, in order to our living cheap, and out of sight.

5th. The Duke of York did call me and Mr. Wren; and my paper, that I have lately taken pains to draw up, was read, and the Duke of York pleased therewith; and we did all along conclude upon answers to my mind for the Board, and that which, if put in execution, will do the King's business. But I do now more and more perceive the Duke of York's trouble, and that he do lie under great weight of mind from the Duke of Buckingham's carrying things against him; and particularly when I advised that he would use his interest that a seaman might come into the room of Sir W. Pen, who is now declared to be gone from us to that of the Victualling, and did show how the Office would now be left without one seaman in it, but the Surveyor and the Comptroller, who is so old as to be able to do nothing, he told me plainly that I knew his mind well

[1] Of Lacock Abbey, Wilts. He was descended from John Talbot, second Earl of Shrewsbury, who fell at Northampton Fight, in 1460; and, as we have seen, (vol. iii., p. 341) had himself been second to his kinsman, Francis, the eleventh Earl, killed in the duel with the Duke of Buckingham. He is said to have been the first person who received Charles II. in his arms, on that monarch's landing at Dover, after the Restoration, on which occasion he was knighted. Le Neve, writing in 1696, calls him "a very fine, strong old gentleman." He lived to a great age, surviving till after 1700. His two sons died young; and his two daughters and coheirs, Anne, married Sir John Ivory, Bart., and Barbara married Henry Yelverton, Lord Grey de Ruthyn, and Viscount Longueville.

enough as to seamen, but that it must be as others will. And Wren did tell it me as a secret, that when the Duke of York did first tell the King about Sir W. Pen's leaving of the place, and did move the King that either Captain Cox or Sir Jer. Smith might succeed him, the King did tell him that was a matter fit to be considered of, and would not agree to either presently: and so the Duke of York could not prevail for either, nor knows who it shall be. The Duke did tell me himself, that if he had not carried it privately when first he mentioned Pen's leaving his place to the King, it had not been done; for the Duke of Buckingham and those of his party do cry out upon it, as a strange thing to trust such a thing into the hands of one that stands accused in Parliament: and that they have so far prevailed upon the King that he would not have him named in the Council, but only take his name to the Board; but I think he said that only D. Gauden's name shall go in the patent; at least, at the time when Sir Richard Browne asked the King the names of D. Gauden's security, the King told him it was not yet necessary for him to declare them. And by and by, when the Duke of York and we had done, Wren brought into the closet Captain Cox and James Temple about business of the Guiney Company; and talking something of the Duke of Buckingham's concernment therein, says the Duke of York, "I shall give the Devil his due," as they say the Duke of Buckingham hath paid in his money to the Company, or something of that kind, wherein he would do right to him. The Duke of York told me how these people do begin to cast dirt upon the business that passed the Council lately, touching Supernumeraries, as passed by virtue of his authority there, there being not liberty for any man to withstand what the Duke of York advises there; which, he told me, they bring only as an argument to insinuate the putting of the Admiralty into Commission, which by all men's discourse is now designed, and I per-

ceive the same by him. This being done, and going from him, I up and down the house to hear news: and there every body's mouth full of changes; and, among others, the Duke of York's regiment of Guards, that was raised during the late war at sea, is to be disbanded: and also, that this day the King do intend to declare that the Duke of Ormond is no more Deputy of Ireland, but that he will put it into Commission. This day our new Treasurers did kiss the King's hand, who complimented them, as they say, very highly,—that he had for a long time been abused in his Treasurer, and that he was now safe in their hands. I saw them walk up and down the Court together all this morning; the first time I ever saw Osborne, who is a comely gentleman. This day I was told that my Lord Anglesey did deliver a petition on Wednesday in Council to the King, laying open, that whereas he had heard that his Majesty had made such a disposal of his place, which he had formerly granted him for life upon a valuable consideration, and that, without any thing laid to his charge, and during a Parliament's sessions, he prayed that his Majesty would be pleased to let his case be heard before the Council and the Judges of the land, who were his proper counsel in all matters of right: to which, I am told, the King, after my Lord's being withdrawn, concluded upon his giving him an answer some few days hence; and so he was called in, and told so. At the Treasurer's, Sir Thomas Clifford, where I did eat some oysters; which while we were at, in comes my Lord Keeper and much company; and so I thought it best to withdraw. And so away, and to the Swedes Agent's, and there met Mr. Povy; where the Agent would have me stay and dine, there being only them, and Joseph Williamson, and Sir Thomas Clayton;[1]

[1] Thomas Clayton, M.D., Professor of Physic, and Anatomy Lecturer at Oxford, for which University he was returned to serve in Parliament in 1660, and afterwards knighted, and made Warden of Merton College.

but what he is I know not. Here much extraordinary noble discourse of foreign princes, and particularly the greatness of the King of France, and of his being fallen into the right way of making the kingdom great. I was mightily pleased with this company and their discourse. With Mr. Povy spent all the afternoon going up and down among the coachmakers in Cow Lane, and did see several, and at last did pitch upon a little chariott, whose body was framed, but not covered, at the widow's, that made Mr. Lowther's fine coach; and we are mightily pleased with it, it being light, and will be very genteel and sober: to be covered with leather, but yet will hold four. Being much satisfied with this, I carried him to White Hall. Home, where I give my wife a good account of my day's work.

6th. To see Roger Pepys at his lodgings, next door to Arundell House, a barber's; and there I did see a book, which my Lord Sandwich hath promised one to me of, "A Description of the Escuriall in Spain;[1] which I have a great desire to have, though I took it for a finer book when he promised it me.

7th. This afternoon I did go out towards Sir D. Gau-

[1] The book alluded to by Pepys is that of the Father Francisco de los Santos, first printed at Madrid, in 1657, and entitled "Descripcion breve del Monasterio de S. Lorenzo el Real del Escorial, unica maravilla del mundo." It is in folio, and has some plates; but Pepys might well express his disappointment, for the appearance of the volume does not answer to the magnificence of the subject. About the time when Pepys wrote, or soon after, the Escurial received some damage by fire, and was even said to be totally destroyed; and in that belief, an abstract of Father Francisco's work was published in 1671, purporting to be "translated into English by a servant of the Earl of Sandwich." That a great amount of damage was really done, is proved by the title of the third edition of the work, printed in Madrid in 1681, which says that the Escurial was rebuilt, after the fire, by Charles II.; and Santos, then alive, asserts the same, in his dedication to that King, comparing him to the restorers of Solomon's Temple.

den's, thinking to have bespoke a place for my coach and horses, when I have them, at the Victualling Office; but find the way so bad and long that I returned, and looked up and down for places elsewhere, in an inne, which I hope to get with more convenience than there.

8th. (Lord's-day.) Up, and at my chamber all the morning, setting my papers to rights, with my boy; and so to dinner at noon.

9th. The Duke of York told me that Sir W. Pen had been with him this morning, to ask whether it would be fit for him to sit at the Office now, because of his resolution to be gone, and to become concerned in the Victualling. The Duke of York answered, "Yes, till his contract was signed." Thence I to Lord Sandwich's, and there to see him; but was made to stay very long, as his best friends are, and when I came to him had little pleasure, his head being full of his own business, I think. Thence to White Hall with him, to a Committee of Tangier; a day appointed for him to give an account of Tangier, and what he did, and found there, which, though he had admirable matter for it, and his doings there were good, and would have afforded a noble account, yet he did it with a mind so low and mean, and delivered in so poor a manner, that it appeared nothing at all, nor any body seemed to value it; whereas, he might have shown himself to have merited extraordinary thanks, and been held to have done a very great service: whereas now, all that cost the King hath been at for his journey through Spain thither, seems to be almost lost. After we were up, Creed and I walked together, and did talk a good while of the weak Report my Lord made, and were troubled for it; I fearing that either his mind and judgment are depressed, or that he do it out of his great neglect, and so that he do all the rest of his affairs accordingly. I staid about the Court a little while, and then to look for a dinner, and had it at Hercules-Pillars, very late, all alone, costing me 10*d.*

11th. To the Office, where, by a speciall desire, the new Treasurers came, and there did show their Patent, and the Great Seal for the suspension of my Lord Anglesey: and here did sit and discourse of the business of the Office: and brought Mr. Hutchinson with them, who, I hear, is to be their Paymaster, in the room of Mr. Waith. For it seems they do turn out every servant that belongs to the present Treasurer: and so for Fenn, do bring in Mr. Littleton, Sir Thomas's brother, and oust all the rest. But Mr. Hutchinson do already see that his work now will be another kind of thing than before, as to the trouble of it. They gone, and, indeed, they appear, both of them, very intelligent men, I home to dinner. Then by coach to my cosen Roger Pepys, who did, at my last being with him this day se'nnight, move me as to the supplying him with £500 this term, and £500 the next, for two years, upon a mortgage, he having that sum to pay, a debt left him by his father, which I did agree to, trusting to his honesty and ability, and am resolved to do it for him, that I may not have all I have lie in the King's hands.

12th. With Mr. Gibson late at my chamber, making an end of my draught of a letter for the Duke of York, in answer to the answers of this Office, which I have now done to my mind, so as, if the Duke likes it, will, I think, put an end to a great deal of the faults of this Office, as well as my trouble for them. So to bed.

13th. Up, and with Sir W. Pen by coach to White Hall, where to the Duke of York, and there did our usual business; and thence I to the Commissioners of the Treasury, where I staid, and heard an excellent case argued between my Lord Gerard and the Town of Newcastle, about a piece of ground which that Lord hath got a grant of, under the Exchequer Seal, which they were endeavouring to get of the King, under the Great Seal. I liked mightily the Counsel for the town, Shafto,[1] their

[1] Afterwards Sir Robert Shafto, knighted 26th June, 1670. He

Recorder, and Mr. Offly.[1] But I was troubled, and so were the Lords,[2] to hear my Lord fly out against their[3] great pretence of merit from the King, for their sufferings and loyalty; telling them that they might thank him for that repute which they have for their loyalty, for that it was he that forced them to be so, against their wills, when he was there: and, moreover, did offer a paper to the Lords to read from the Town, sent in 1648; but the Lords would not read it; but I believe it was something about bringing the King to trial, or some such thing, in that year. Thence I to the Three Tuns Tavern, by Charing Cross, and there dined with W. Pen, Sir J. Minnes, and Commissioner Middleton; and as merry as my mind could be, that hath so much trouble upon it. And thence to White Hall, and there staid in Mr. Wren's chamber with him, reading over my draught of a letter, which Mr. Gibson then attended me with; and there he did like all, but doubted whether it would be necessary for the Duke to write in so sharp a style to the Office, as I had drawn it in; which I yield to him, to consider the present posture of the times and the Duke of York, and whether it were not better to err on that hand than the other. He told me that he did not think it was necessary for the Duke of York to do so, and that it would not suit so well with his nature nor greatness; which last, perhaps, is true, but then do too truly show the effects of having Princes in places, where order and discipline should be. I left it to him to do as the Duke of York pleases; and so fell to other talk, and with great freedom, of public things · and

died in 1704, and was buried in St. Nicholas's Church, Newcastle. He married Katharine, daughter and coheir of Sir Thomas Widrington, of the Grange, Yorkshire.

[1] Sir Adam Ottley, afterwards one of the Masters in Chancery; knighted 30th June, 1680.

[2] The Lords Commissioners.

[3] The inhabitants of Newcastle.

he told me, upon my several inquiries to that purpose, that he did believe it was not yet resolved whether the Parliament should ever meet more or no, the three great rulers of things now standing thus:—The Duke of Buckingham is absolutely against their meeting, as moved thereto by his people that he advises with, the people of the late times, who do never expect to have any thing done by this Parliament for their religion, and who do propose that, by the sale of the Church-lands, they shall be able to put the King out of debt: my Lord Keeper is utterly against putting away this and choosing another Parliament, lest they prove worse than this, and will make all the King's friends, and the King himself, in a desperate condition: my Lord Arlington knows not which is best for him, being to seek whether this or the next will use him worst. He tells me that he believes that it is intended to call this Parliament, and try them for a sum of money; and, if they do not like it, then to send them going, and call another, who will, at the ruin of the Church perhaps, please the King with what he will have for a time. And he tells me, therefore, that he do believe that this policy will be endeavoured by the Church and their friends—to seem to promise the King money when it shall be propounded, but make the King and these great men buy it dear, before they have it. He tells me that he is really persuaded that the design of the Duke of Buckingham is, by bringing the state into such a condition as, if the King do die without issue, it shall, upon his death, break into pieces again; and so put by the Duke of York, whom they have disobliged, they know, to that degree, as to despair of his pardon. He tells me that there is no way to rule the King but by brisknesse, which the Duke of Buckingham hath above all men; and that the Duke of York having it not, his best way is what he practices, that is to say, a good temper, which will support him till the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Arlington fall out,

which cannot be long first, the former knowing that the latter did, in the time of the Chancellor, endeavour with the Chancellor to hang him at that time, when he was proclaimed against. And here, by the by, he told me that the Duke of Buckingham did, by his friends, treat with my Lord Chancellor, by the mediation of Matt. Wren and Clifford, to fall in with my Lord Chancellor; which, he tells me, he did advise my Lord Chancellor to accept of, as that, that with his own interest and the Duke of York's, would undoubtedly have secured all to him and his family; but that my Lord Chancellor was a man not to be advised, thinking himself too high to be counselled: and so all is come to nothing; for by that means the Duke of Buckingham became desperate, and was forced to fall in with Arlington, to the Chancellor's ruin. This morning, at the Treasury-chamber, I did meet Jack Fenn, and there he did show me my Lord Anglesey's petition and the King's answer: the former good and stout, as I before did hear it: but the latter short and weak, saying that he was not, by what the King had done, hindered from taking the benefit of the law, and that the reason he had to suspect his mismanagement of his money in Ireland, did make him think it unfit to trust him with his Treasury in England, till he was satisfied in the former.

14th. At the Office all the morning, and merry at noon, at dinner; and after dinner to the Office, where all the afternoon, doing much business, late.

15th. After dinner, W. Howe to tell me what hath happened between him and the Commissioners of late, who are hot again, more than ever, about my Lord Sandwich's business of prizes, which I am troubled for, and the more, because of the great security and neglect with which, I think, my Lord do look upon this matter, that may yet, for aught I know, undo him.

16th. I did call at Martin's, my bookseller's, and there

bought "Cassandra,"[1] and some other French books for my wife's closet, and so home, having eat nothing but two pennyworths of oysters, opened for me by a woman in the street.

17th. To the Office all the morning, where the new Treasurers come, their second time, and before they sat down, did discourse with the Board, and particularly my Lord Brouncker, about their place,[2] which they challenge, as having been heretofore due, and given to their predecessor; which, at last, my Lord did own hath been given him, only out of courtesy to his quality, and that he did not take it as of right at the Board: so they, for the present, sat down, and did give him the place, but, I think, with an intent to have the Duke of York's directions about it. My wife and others busy now, to make clean the house above stairs, the upholsterers having done there, in her closet and the blue room, and [they] are mighty pretty.

19th. This night the upholsterers did finish the hanging of my best chamber.

20th. To meet Roger Pepys, which I did, and did there discourse of the business of lending him £500 to answer some occasions of his, which I believe to be safe enough, and away by coach home, calling on my coachmaker by the way, where I like my little coach mightily. This evening comes Mr. Billup to me, to read over Mr. Wren's alterations of my draught of a letter for the Duke of York to sign, to the Board; which I like mighty well, they being not considerable, only in mollifying some hard terms, which I had thought fit to put in. From this to other discourse; and do find that the Duke of York and his master, Mr. Wren, do look upon this service of mine as

[1] A Romance, by Gualtier de Costes, Seigneur de la Calprenède. It had been recently translated into English by Sir Charles Cotterell, noticed vol. iii., p. 224.

[2] *i.e.*, precedence.

a very seasonable service to the Duke, as that which he will have to show to his enemies in his own justification, of his care of the King's business; and I am sure I am heartily glad of it, both for the King's sake and the Duke of York's, and my own also; for, if I continue here, my work, by this means, will be the less, and my share in the blame also.

21st. At the Office all the morning; and after dinner abroad with W. Hewer to my Lord Ashly's, where my Lord Barkeley and Sir Thomas Ingram[1] met upon Mr. Povy's account, where I was in great pain about that part of his account wherein I am concerned, above £150, I think; and Creed hath declared himself dissatisfied with it, so far as to desire to cut his "Examinatur" out of the paper, as the only condition in which he would be silent in it. This Povy had the wit to yield to; and so, when it come to be inquired into, I did avouch the truth of the account as to that particular, of my own knowledge, and so it went over as a thing good and just—as, indeed, in the bottom of it, it is; though in strictness, perhaps, it would not so well be understood. The Committee rising, I, with my mind much satisfied herein, away by coach home, setting Creed into Southampton Buildings, and so home; and there ended my letters, and then home to my wife, where I find my house clean now, from top to bottom, so as I have not seen it many a day, and to the full satisfaction of my mind, that I am now at peace, as to my poor wife, as to the dirtiness of my house, and as to seeing an end, in a great measure, to my present great disbursements upon my house, and coach and horses.

22nd. (Lord's-day.) My wife and I lay long, with mighty content; and so rose, and she spent the whole day making herself clean, after four or five weeks being in continued dirt; and I knocking up nails, and making little settlements in my house, till noon, and then eat a bit of meat

[1] See vol. ii., p. 130.

in the kitchen, I all alone. And so to the Office, to set down my journal, for some days, leaving it imperfect, the matter being mighty grievous to me, and my mind, from the nature of it; and so in, to solace myself with my wife, whom I got to read to me, and so W. Hewer, and the boy; and so, after supper, to bed. This day my boy's livery is come home, the first I ever had, of greene, lined with red; and it likes me well enough.

23d. Up, and called upon by W. Howe, who went, with W. Hewer, with me, by water to the Temple; his business was to have my advice about a place he is going to buy—the Clerk of the Patent's place, which I understand not, and so could say little to him. To visit my Lord Sandwich, who is now so reserved, or moped rather, I think, with his own business, that he bids welcome to no man, I think, to his satisfaction. I bear with it, being willing to give him as little trouble as I can, and to receive as little from him, wishing only that I had my money in my purse, that I have lent him; but, however, I shew no discontent at all. I met with Mr. Povy, who tells me that this discourse which I told him of, of the Duke of Monmouth being made Prince of Wales, hath nothing in it; though he thinks there are all the endeavours used in the world to overthrow the Duke of York. He would not have me doubt of my safety in the Navy, which I am doubtful of, from the reports of a general removal; but he will endeavour to inform me, what he can gather from my Lord Arlington. That he do think that the Duke of Buckingham hath a mind rather to overthrow all the Kingdom, and bring in a Commonwealth, wherein he may think to be General of their Army, or to make himself King, which, he believes, he may be led to, by some advice he hath had with conjurers, which he do affect. I took my wife and boy to Hercules Pillars, and there dined, and thence to our upholsterer's, about some things more to buy, and so to see our coach, and so to the looking-glass

man's, by the New Exchange, and so to buy a picture for our blue chamber chimney, and so home; and there I made my boy to read to me most of the night, to get through the Life of the Archbishop of Canterbury.[1] At supper comes Mary Batelier, and with us all the evening, prettily talking, and very innocent company she is; and she gone, we with much content to bed, and to sleep, with mighty rest all night.

24th. Up, and at the Office all the morning, and at noon home to dinner, where Mr. Gentleman, the cook, and an old woman, his third or fourth wife, come and dined with us, to enquire about a ticket of his son's, that is dead; and after dinner, I with Mr. Hosier to my closet, to discourse of the business of balancing Storekeeper's accounts, which he hath taken great pains in reducing to a method to my great satisfaction, and I shall be glad, for both the King's sake and his, that the thing may be put in practice, and will do my part to promote it. That done, he gone, I to the Office, where busy till night; and then with comfort to sit with my wife, and get her to read to me, and so to supper, and to bed, with my mind at mighty ease.

25th. By coach to see Sir W. Coventry; but he gone out, I to White Hall, and there waited on Lord Sandwich, which I have little encouragement to do, because of the difficulty of seeing him, and the little he hath to say to me when I do see him, or to any body else, but his own idle people about him, Sir Charles Harbord, &c. Thence walked with him to White Hall, where to the Duke of York; and there the Duke, and Wren, and I by appointment in his closet, to read over our letter to the Office, which he heard, and signed it, and it is to my mind, Mr. Wren having made it somewhat sweeter to the Board, and yet with all the advice fully, that I did draw it up with. The Duke said little more to us now, his head

[1] Laud: see *ante*, p. 8.

being full of other business; but I do see that he do continue to put a value upon my advice; and so Mr. Wren and I to his chamber, and there talked: and he seems to hope that these people, the Duke of Buckingham and Arlington, will run themselves off of their legs; they being forced to be always putting the King upon one idle thing or other, against the easiness of his nature, which he will never be able to bear, nor they to keep him to, and so will lose themselves. And, for instance of their little progress, he tells me that my Lord of Ormond is like yet to carry it, and to continue in his command in Ireland; at least, they cannot get the better of him yet. But he tells me that the Keeper is wrought upon, as they say, to give his opinion for the dissolving of the Parliament, which, he thinks, will undo him in the eyes of the people. He do not seem to own the hearing or fearing of any thing to be done in the Admiralty, to the lessening of the Duke of York, though he hears how the town-talk is full of it. Thence I by coach home, and there find my cosen Roger come to dine with me, and to seal his mortgage for the £500 I lend him; but he and I first walked to the 'Change, there to look for my uncle Wight, and get him to dinner with us. So home, buying a barrel of oysters at my old oyster-woman's, in Gracious Street, but over the way to where she kept her shop before. Merry at dinner; and the money not being ready, I carried Roger Pepys to Holborn Conduit,[1] and there left him going to Stradwicke's, whom we avoided to see, because of our long absence, and my wife and I to the Duke of York's house, to see "The Duchesse of Malfy," a sorry play, and sat with little pleasure. This evening, to my great content, I got Sir Richard Ford to give me leave to set my coach in his yard.

[1] Stowe speaks of "the Conduit of Holborn Cross, erected about 1498: again new made by Mr. William Lamb, 1557. Hence called Lamb's Conduit."

26th. At the Office all the morning, where I was to have delivered the Duke of York's letter of advice to the Board, in answer to our several answers to his great letter; but Lord Brouncker not being there, and doubtful to deliver it before the New Treasurer, I forbore it till the next sitting. So home at noon to dinner, where I find Mr. Pierce and his wife: but I was forced to shew very little pleasure in her being there, because of my vow to my wife; and, therefore, was glad of a very bad occasion for my being really troubled, which is, at W. Hewer's losing of a tally of £1000, which I sent him this day to receive of the Commissioners of Excise.

27th. Up; and with W. Hewer to see Sir W. Coventry, but missed him again, by coming too late, the man of all the world that I am resolved to preserve an interest in. Thence to White Hall, and there at our usual waiting on the Duke of York; and, that being done, I away to the Exchequer, to give a stop, and take some advice about my lost tally, wherein I shall have some remedy, with trouble. Comes Mr. Povy by appointment to dine with me; and much pleasant discourse with him, and some serious; and he tells me that he would, by all means, have me get to be a Parliament-man, the next Parliament. By and by comes my cosen Roger, and dines with us; and, after dinner, did seal his mortgage, wherein I do wholly rely on his honesty, not having so much as read over what he hath given me for it, nor minded it, but do trust to his integrity therein.

28th. All the morning at the Office, where, while I was sitting, one comes and tells me that my coach is come. So I was forced to go out, and to Sir Richard Ford's, where I spoke to him, and he is very willing to have it brought in, and stand there; and so I ordered it, to my great content, it being mighty pretty, only the horses do not please me, and, therefore, resolve to have better. This day I presented to the Board the Duke of York's letter,

which, I perceive, troubled Sir W. Pen, he declaring himself meant in that part, that concerned excuse by sickness; but I do not care, but am mightily glad that it is done, and now I shall begin to be at pretty good ease in the Office. This morning, to my great content, W. Hewer tells me that a porter is come, who found my tally in Holborn, and brings it him, for which he gives him 20*s*.

29th. My wife lately frighted me about her being a Catholique; and I dare not, therefore, move her to go to Church, for fear she should deny me; but this morning, of her own accord, she spoke of going to Church the next Sunday, which pleases me mightily. This morning my coachman's clothes come home; and I like the livery mightily. All the morning in my chamber, and dined with my wife, and got her to read to me in the afternoon, till Sir W. Warren, by appointment, comes to me, who spent two hours, or three, with me, about his accounts of Gottenburgh, which are so confounded, I doubt they will hardly ever pass without my doing something, which he desires of me, and which, partly from fear, and partly from unwillingness to wrong the King, and partly from its being of no profit to me, I am backward to give way to, though the poor man do indeed deserve to be rid of this trouble, that he hath lain so long under, from the negligence of this Board. He tells me, as soon as he saw my coach yesterday, he wished that the owner might not contract envy by it; but I told him it was now manifestly for my profit to keep a coach, and that, after employments like mine for eight years, it were hard if I could not be thought to be justly able to do that. To supper; and to read, and made an end of the Life of Archbishop Laud, which is worth reading, as informing a man plainly in the posture of the Church, and how the things of it were managed with the same self-interest and design, that every other thing is, and have succeeded accordingly.

30th. With W. Hewer to White Hall, to a Committee of

Tangier, where the business of Mr. Lanyon took up all the morning; and, poor man! he did manage his business with so much folly, and ill fortune to boot, that the Board, before his coming in, inclining, of their own accord, to lay his cause aside, and leave it to the law, he pressed that we would hear it, and it ended to the making him appear a very knave, as well as it did to me, a fool also, which I was sorry for. Thence by water, Mr. Povy, Creed, and I, to Arundell House, and there I did see them choosing their Council, it being St. Andrew's-day;[1] and I had his cross set on my hat, as the rest had, and cost me 2*s*. My wife, after dinner, went the first time abroad in her coach, calling on Roger Pepys, and visiting Mrs. Creed, and my cosen Turner. Thus ended this month, with very good content, but most expenseful to my purse on things of pleasure, having furnished my wife's closet and the best chamber, and a coach and horses, that ever I knew in the world; and I am put into the greatest condition of outward state that ever I was in, or hoped ever to be, or desired: and this at a time when we do daily expect great changes in this Office; and by all reports we must, all of us, turn out. But my eyes are come to that condition that I am not able to work; and therefore that, and my wife's desire, make me have no manner of trouble in my thoughts about it. So God do his will in it!

December 1st. This day I hear of poor Mr. Clerke, the solicitor, being dead, of a cold, after being not above two days ill, which troubles me mightily, poor man!

2nd. Abroad with W. Hewer, thinking to have found Mr. Wren at Captain Cox's to have spoke something to him about doing a favour for Will's uncle Steventon, but missed him. Abroad with my wife, the first time that ever I rode in my own coach, which do make my heart rejoice, and praise God, and pray him to bless it to me and continue it. So she and I to the King's playhouse, and

[1] The annual meeting of the Royal Society is still held on that day.

there saw "The Usurper;" a pretty good play, in all but what is designed to resemble Cromwell and Hugh Peters, which is mighty silly. The play done, we to White Hall; where my wife staid while I up to the Duchesse's and Queene's side, to speak with the Duke of York: and here saw all the ladies, and heard the silly discourse of the King, with his people about him, telling a story of my Lord Rochester's having of his clothes stole, while he was with a wench; and his gold all gone, but his clothes found afterwards, stuffed into a feather bed, by the wench that stole them. I spoke with the Duke of York, just as he was set down to supper with the King, about our sending of victuals to Sir Thomas Allen's fleet hence to Cales, to meet him. To-day I hear that Mr. Ackworth's cause went for him at Guildhall, against his hosiers, which I am well enough pleased with.

3rd. Mr. Wren gives me but small hopes of the favour I hoped to get for Mr. Steventon, Will's uncle, of having leave, being upon the point of death, to surrender his place, which do trouble me, but I will do what I can. To the Office, Sir Jer. Smith with me; who is a silly, prating, talking man; but he tells me what he hears,—that Holmes and Spragg now rule all with the Duke of Buckingham, as to sea-business, and will be great men: but he do prophesy what will be the fruit of it; so I do. So to the Office, where we sat all the morning; and at noon home to dinner, and then abroad again, with my wife, to the Duke of York's playhouse, and saw "The Unfortunate Lovers;" a mean play, I think, but some parts very good, and excellently acted. We sat under the boxes, and saw the fine ladies; among others, my Lady Kerneguy,[1] who is most devilishly painted. And so home, it being mighty pleasure to go alone with my poor wife, in a coach of our own, to a play, and makes us appear mighty great, I think, in the world; at least, greater than ever I could, or my

[1] See note in vol. ii., p. 152.

friends for me, have once expected; or, I think, than ever any of my family ever yet lived, in my memory, but my cosen Pepys in Salisbury Court.

4th. Did wait as usual upon the Duke of York, where, upon discoursing something touching the Ticket-Office, which by letter the Board did give the Duke of York their advice, to be put upon Lord Brouncker, Sir J. Minnes did foolishly rise up and complain of the Office, and his being made nothing of; and this before Sir Thomas Littleton, who would be glad of this difference among us, which did trouble me mightily; and therefore I did forbear to say what I otherwise would have thought fit for me to say on this occasion, upon so impertinent a speech as this doating fool made—but, I say, I let it alone, and contented myself that it went as I advised, as to the Duke of York's judgment, in the thing disputed. Home, where by invitation I find my aunt Wight, who looked over all our house, and is mighty pleased with it, and indeed it is now mighty handsome, and rich in furniture. I carried my wife and her to Smithfield, where they sit in the coach, while Mr. Pickering, who meets me at Smithfield, and I, and W. Hewer, and a friend of his, a jockey, did go about to see several pairs of horses, for my coach; but it was late, and we agreed on none, but left it to another time: but here I do see instances of a piece of craft and cunning that I never dreamed of, concerning the buying and choosing of horses. So Mr. Pickering, to whom I am much beholden for his kindness herein, and I parted; and I with my people home. To the Office, where vexed to see how ill all the Comptroller's business is likely to go, as long as ever Sir J. Minnes lives; and so troubled I was, that I thought it a good occasion for me to give my thoughts of it in writing, and therefore wrote a letter at the Board, by the help of a tube, to Lord Brouncker, and did give it him, which I kept a copy of, and it may be of use to me hereafter to show, in this matter. This being done, I home to my aunt, who supped with us,

and my uncle also: and a good-humoured woman she is, so that I think we shall keep her acquaintance; but mighty proud she is of her wedding-ring, being lately set with diamonds; cost her about £12: and I did commend it mightily to her, but do not think it very suitable for one of our quality.

5th. No news stirring, but that my Lord of Ormond is likely to go to Ireland again, which do show that the Duke of Buckingham do not rule all so absolutely; and that, however, we shall speedily have more changes in the Navy: and it is certain that the Nonconformists do now preach openly in houses, in many places, and among others the house that was heretofore Sir G. Carteret's, in Leadenhall Streete, and have ready access to the King. And now the great dispute is, whether this Parliament or another; and my great design, if I continue in the Navy, is to get myself to be a Parliament-man.

6th. (Lord's-day.) Up, and with my wife to Church; which pleases me mightily, I being full of fear that she would never go to Church again, after she had declared to me that she was a Roman Catholick. But though I do verily think she fears God, and is truly and sincerely righteous, yet I do see she is not so strictly a Catholick as not to go to Church with me, which pleases me mightily. Here Mills made a lazy sermon, upon Moses's meeknesse. With my wife and W. Hewer talking over the business of the Office, and particularly my own Office, how I will make it, and it will become, in a little time, an Office of ease, and not slavery, as it hath for so many years been.

7th. Sir W. Coventry says that he hath no more mind to be found meddling with the Navy, lest it should do it hurt, as well as him. So to talk of general things: and telling him that, with all these doings, he, I thanked God, stood yet; he told me, Yes, but that he thought his continuing in, did arise from his enemies my Lord of Buckingham and Arlington's seeing that he cared so little

if he was out; and he do protest to me that he is as weary of the Treasury, as ever he was of the Navy. He tells me that he do believe that their heat is over almost, as to the Navy, there being now none left of the old stock but my Lord Brouncker, J. Minnes, who is ready to leave the world, and myself. But he tells me that he do foresee very great wants and great disorders by reason thereof; insomuch, as he is represented to the King by his enemies as a melancholy man, and one that is still prophesying ill events, so as the King called him Visionaire, which being told him, he said he answered the party, that, whatever he foresaw, he was not afraid as to himself of any thing, nor particularly of my Lord Arlington, so much as the Duke of Buckingham hath been, nor of the Duke of Buckingham, so much as my Lord Arlington at this time is. But he tells me that he hath been always looked upon as a melancholy man; whereas, others that would please the King do make him believe that all is safe: and so he hath heard my Lord Chancellor openly say to the King, that he was now a glorious prince, and in a glorious condition, because of some one accident that hath happened, or some one rut that hath been removed; "when," says Sir W. Coventry, "they reckoned their one good meal, without considering that there was nothing left in the cupboard for to-morrow." After this discourse, to my Lord Sandwich's, and took a quarter of an hour's walk in the garden with him, which I have not done for so much time with him since his coming into England; and talking of his own condition, and particularly of the world's talk of his going to Tangier. I find, if his conditions can be made profitable and safe as to money, he would go, but not else; but, however, will seem not averse to it, because of facilitating his other accounts now depending, which he finds hard to get through, but yet hath some hopes, the King, he says, speaking very kindly to him.

8th. Up, and Sir H. Cholmly betimes with me, about some accounts and monies due to him; and he gone, I to the Office, where sat all the morning; and here, among other things, breaks out the storm W. Hewer and I have long expected from the Surveyor,[1] about W. Hewer's conspiring to get a contract, to the burdening of the stores with kerseys and cottons, of which he hath often complained, and lately more than ever; and now he did by a most scandalous letter to the Board, reflecting on my Office: and, by discourse, it fell to such high words between him and me, as can hardly ever be forgot; I declaring I would believe W. Hewer as soon as him, and laying the fault, if there be any, upon himself; he, on the other hand, vilifying of my word and W. Hewer's, calling him knave, and that if he were his clerk, he should lose his ears. At last, I closed the business for this morning with making the thing ridiculous, as it is, and he swearing that the King should have right in it, or he would lose his place. The Office was cleared of all but ourselves and W. Hewer; but, however, the world did by the beginning see what it meant, and it will, I believe, come to high terms between us, which I am sorry for, to have any blemish laid upon me or mine, at this time, though never so unjustly, for fear of giving occasion to my real discredit: and therefore I was not only all the rest of the morning vexed, but so went home to dinner, where my wife tells me of my Lord Orrery's new play "Tryphon,"[2] at the Duke of York's house, which, however, I would see, and therefore put a bit of meat in our mouths, and went thither, where, with much ado, at half-past one, we got into a blind hole in the 18*d.* place, above stairs, where we could not hear well. The house infinite full, but the prologue most silly, and the play, though admirable, yet

[1] Colonel Middleton.

[2] This tragedy, taken from the first book of Maccabees, was performed with great success.

no pleasure almost in it, because just the very same design, and words, and sense, and plot, as every one of his plays have, any one of which alone would be held admirable, whereas so many of the same design and fancy do but dull one another; and this, I perceive, is the sense of every body else, as well as myself, who therefore showed but little pleasure in it. So home, mighty hot, and my mind mightily out of order, so as I could not eat my supper, or sleep almost all night, though I spent till twelve at night with W. Hewer to consider of our business: and we find it not only most free from any blame of our side, but so horrid scandalous on the other, to make so groundless a complaint, and one so shameful to him, that it could not but let me see that there is no need of my being troubled; but such is the weakness of my nature, that I could not help it, which vexes me, showing me how unable I am to live with difficulties.

9th. To the Office, but did little there, my mind being still uneasy, though more and more satisfied that there is no occasion for it; but abroad with my wife to the Temple, where I met with Auditor Wood's clerk, and did some business with him, and so to see Mr. Spong, and found him out by Southampton Market, and there carried my wife, and up to his chamber, a bye place, but with a good prospect of the fields; and there I had most infinite pleasure, not only with his ingenuity in general, but in particular with his shewing me the use of the Parallelogram, by which he drew in a quarter of an hour before me, in little, from a great, a most neat map of England—that is, all the outlines, which gives me infinite pleasure, and foresight of pleasure, I shall have with it; and therefore desire to have that which I have bespoke, made. Many other pretty things he shewed us, and did give me a glass bubble,[1] to try the strength of liquors with.

[1] This seems to be Mr. Boyle's hydrometer, described in the Philosophical Transactions of the time.

This done, and having spent 6*d.* in ale in the coach, at the door of the Bull Inn, with the innocent master of the house, a Yorkshireman, for his letting us go through his house, we away to Hercules Pillars, and there eat a bit of meat: and so, with all speed, back to the Duke of York's house, where mighty full again; but we come time enough to have a good place in the pit, and did hear this new play again, where, though I better understood it than before, yet my sense of it and pleasure was just the same as yesterday, and no more, nor any body else's about us. So took our coach and home, having now little pleasure to look about me to see the fine faces, for fear of displeasing my wife, whom I take great comfort now, more than ever, in pleasing; and it is a real joy to me. So home, and to my Office, where spent an hour or two; and so home to my wife, to supper and talk, and so to bed.

10th. Up, and to the Office, where busy all the morning: Middleton not there, so no words or looks of him. At noon, home to dinner; and so to the Office, and there all the afternoon busy; and at night W. Hewer home with me; and we think we have got matter enough to make Middleton appear a coxcomb. But it troubled me to have Sir W. Warren meet me at night, going out of the Office home, and tell me that Middleton do intend to complain to the Duke of York: but, upon consideration of the business, I did go to bed, satisfied that it was best for me that he should; and so my trouble was over, and to bed, and slept well.

11th. Up, and with W. Hewer by water to Somerset House; and there I to my Lord Brouncker, before he went forth to the Duke of York, and there told him my confidence that I should make Middleton appear a fool, and that it was, I thought, best for me to complain of the wrong he hath done; but brought it about, that my Lord desired me I would forbear, and promised that he would prevent Middleton till I had given in my answer to the

Board, which I desired: and so away to White Hall, and there did our usual attendance: and no word spoke before the Duke of York by Middleton at all; at which I was glad to my heart, because by this means I have time to draw up my answer to my mind. With W. Hewer by coach to Smithfield, but met not Mr. Pickering, he being not come, and so Will and I to a cook's shop, in Aldersgate Street; and dined well for 1*s.* 0½*d.*, upon roast beef; and so, having dined, we back to Smithfield, and there met Pickering, and up and down all the afternoon about horses, and did see the knaveries and tricks of jockeys. Here I met W. Joyce, who troubled me with his impertinencies a great while, and the like Mr. Knipp, who, it seems, is a kind of a jockey, and would fain have been doing something for me, but I avoided him, and the more for fear of being troubled thereby with his wife, whom I dare not see, for my vow to my wife. At last, concluded upon giving £50 for a fine pair of black horses we saw this day se'nnight; and so set Mr. Pickering down near his house, whom I am much beholden to, for his care herein, and he hath admirable skill, I perceive, in this business, and so home.

12th. I hear this day that there is fallen down a new house, not quite finished, in Lumberd Street, and that there have been several so, they making use of bad mortar and bricks; but no hurt yet, as God hath ordered it. This day was brought home my pair of black coach-horses, the first I ever was master of, a fine pair!

14th. To a Committee of Tangier, where, among other things, a silly account of a falling out between Norwood,[1] at Tangier, and Mr. Bland, the mayor, who is fled to Cales. His complaint is ill-worded, and the other's defence the most ridiculous that ever I saw; and so everybody else that was there, thought it; but never did I see so great an instance of the use of grammar, and knowledge how to

[1] Colonel Norwood, the Deputy Governor. See vol. i., p. 49.

tell a man's tale as this day, Bland having spoiled his business by ill-telling it, who had work to have made himself notorious by his mastering Norwood, his enemy, if he had known how to have used it. To dinner by a hackney, my coachman being this day about breaking of my horses to the coach, they having never yet drawn. This day, I hear, and am glad, that the King hath prorogued the Parliament to October next; and, among other reasons, it will give me time to go to France, I hope.

15th. Up, and to the Office, where sat all the morning, and the new Treasurers there; and, for my life, I cannot keep Sir J. Minnes and others of the Board from showing our weakness, to the dishonour of the Board, though I am not concerned: but it do vex me to the heart to have it before these people, that would be glad to find out all our weaknesses.

18th. To Lord Brouncker, and got him to read over my paper, who owns most absolute content in it, and the advantage I have in it, and the folly of the Surveyor. At noon home to dinner; and then to Brooke House, and there spoke with Colonel Thomson, I by order carrying the Commissioners of Accounts our Contract-books, from the beginning to the end of the late war. I found him finding of errors in a ship's book, where he showed me many, which must end in the ruin, I doubt, of the Comptroller, who found them not out in the pay of the ship, or the whole Office. To the Office, and after some other business done, we fell to mine. The Surveyor began to be a little brisk at the beginning; but when I came to the point to touch him, which I had all the advantages in the world to do, he became as calm as a lamb, and owned, as the whole Board did, their satisfaction, and cried excuse: and so all made friends; and their acknowledgment put into writing, and delivered into Sir J. Minnes's hand, to be kept there for the use of the Board, or me, when I shall call for it; they desiring it might be

so, that I might not make use of it to the prejudice of the Surveyor, whom I had an advantage over, by his extraordinary folly in this matter. So Middleton desiring to be friends, I forgave him; and all mighty quiet, and fell to talk of other stories, and there staid, all of us, till nine or ten at night, more than ever we did in our lives before, together.

19th. My wife and I by hackney to the King's playhouse, and there, the pit being full, sat in the box above, and saw "Catiline's Conspiracy," yesterday being the first day: a play of much good sense and words to read, but that do appear the worst upon the stage, I mean, the least diverting, that ever I saw any, though most fine in clothes; and a fine scene of the Senate, and of a fight, as ever I saw in my life. We sat next to Betty Hall, that did belong to this house, and was Sir Philip Howard's mistress; a mighty pretty wench, though my wife will not think so; and I dare neither commend, nor be seen to look upon her, or any other, for fear of offending her. So, our own coach coming for us, home, and to end letters, and my wife to read to me out of "The Siege of Rhodes," and so to supper, and to bed.

20th. The Duke of York in good humour did fall to tell us many fine stories of the wars in Flanders, and how the Spaniards are the best disciplined foot in the world; will refuse no extraordinary service if commanded, but scorn to be paid for it, as in other countries, though at the same time they will beg in the streets: not a soldier will carry you a cloak-bag for money for the world, though he will beg a penny, and will do the thing, if commanded by his Commander. That, in the citadel of Antwerp, a soldier hath not a liberty of begging till he hath served three years. They will cry out against their King and Commanders and Generals, none like them in the world, and yet will not hear a stranger say a word of them but they will cut his throat. That, upon a time, some of the

Commanders of their army exclaiming against their Generals, and particularly the Marquis de Caranen,[1] the Confessor of the Marquis coming by and hearing them, he stops and gravely tells them that the three great trades of the world are, the lawyers, who govern the world; the churchmen who enjoy the world; and a sort of fellows whom they call soldiers, who make it their work to defend the world. He told us too, that Turenne being now become a Catholick,[2] he is likely to get over the head of Colbert,[3] their interests being contrary; the latter to promote trade and the sea, which, says the Duke of York, is that we have most cause to fear; and Turenne to employ the King and his forces by land, to encrease his conquests. W. Hewer tells me to-day that he hears that the King of France hath declared in print, that he do intend this next summer to forbid his Commanders to strike to us, but that both we and the Dutch shall strike to him; and that he hath made his Captains swear already, that they will observe it: which is a great thing if he do it, as I know nothing to hinder him.

21st. To the Temple, the first time my fine horses ever carried me, and I am mighty proud of these. So home, and there dined with my wife and my people: and then

[1] Luis de Benavides, Carillo y Toledo, Marques de Caracena, one of the most eminent of the Spanish Generals. He had been Commander of the Spanish Cavalry in Flanders; and was afterwards Governor of Milan, and employed in the wars of Italy. He died in 1668.

[2] Henri, Vicomte de Turenne, the celebrated General. In 1666, after the death of his wife, Charlotte, heiress of the Duc de la Force, who, like himself, had been a Huguenot, and whose influence had retained him in that communion, Turenne professed himself a Roman Catholic.

[3] Jean Baptiste Colbert, the great Minister. This reminds us of the famous reply, "*Laissez nous faire*," given to him by the French merchants, whose interests he thought to promote by laws and regulations.

she, and W. Hewer, and I out with our coach, but the old horses, not daring yet to use the others too much, but only to enter them. Went into Holborne, and there saw the woman that is to be seen with a beard. She is a little plain woman, a Dane: her name, Ursula Dyan; about forty years old; her voice like a little girl's; with a beard as much as any man I ever saw, black almost, and grizly; it began to grow at about seven years old, and was shaved not above seven months ago, and is now so big as any man's almost that ever I saw; I say, bushy and thick. It was a strange sight to me, I confess, and what pleased me mightily. Thence to the Duke's playhouse, and saw "Macbeth." The King and Court there; and we sat just under them and my Lady Castlemaine, and close to a woman that comes into the pit, a kind of a loose gossip, that pretends to be like her, and is so, something. And my wife, by my troth, appeared, I think, as pretty as any of them; I never thought so much before; and so did Talbot and W. Hewer, as, I heard, they said to one another. The King and Duke of York minded me, and smiled upon me, at the handsome woman near me: but it vexed me to see Moll Davis, in the box over the King's and my Lady Castlemaine's, look down upon the King, and he up to her; and so did my Lady Castlemaine once, to see who it was; but when she saw Moll Davis, she looked like fire; which troubled me.

23d. Discoursed with Sir John Bankes, who thinks this prorogation will please all but the Parliament itself, which will, if ever they meet, be vexed at Buckingham, who yet governs all. He says the Nonconformists are glad of it, and, he believes, will get the upper-hand in a little time, for the King must trust to them or nobody; and he thinks the King will be forced to it. He says that Sir D. Gauden is mightily troubled at Pen's being put upon him, by the Duke of York,[1] and that he believes he

[1] As his partner, in the contract for victualling the Navy.

will get clear of it, which, though it will trouble me to have Pen still at the Office, yet I shall think D. Gauden do well in it, and what I would advise him to, because I love him. So home to dinner, and then with my wife alone abroad, with our new horses, the beautifullest almost that ever I saw, and the first time they ever carried her and me, but once; but we are mighty proud of them. To her tailor's, and so to the 'Change, and laid out three or four pounds in lace, for her and me; and so home, and there I up to my Lord Brouncker at his lodgings; and sat with him an hour on purpose, to talk over the wretched state of this Office at present, according to the present hands it is made up of; wherein he do fully concur with me, and that it is our part not only to prepare for defending it and ourselves, against the consequences of it, but to take the best ways we can, to make it known to the Duke of York; for, till Sir J. Minnes be removed, and a sufficient man brought into W. Pen's place, when he is gone, it is impossible for this Office ever to support itself.

24th. A cold day. Up, and to the Office, where all the morning alone, nobody meeting, being the eve of Christmas. At noon home to dinner, and then at the Office busy, all the afternoon, and at night home.

25th. (Christmas-day.) I to Church, where Alderman Backewell, coming in late, I beckoned to his lady to come up to us, who did, with another lady; and after sermon, I led her down through the Church to her husband and coach, a noble, fine woman, and a good one, and one my wife shall be acquainted with. So home, and to dinner alone with my wife, who, poor wretch! sat undressed all day, till ten at night, altering and lacing of a noble petticoat: while I by her, making the boy read to me the Life of Julius Cæsar,[1] and Des Cartes' book of Musick[2]—

[1] The Life of Julius Cæsar, with an account of his Medals, by Clement Edmonds, fol., Lond., 1655.

[2] Musicæ Compendium, by Réné des Cartes, Amsterdam, 1617;

the latter of which I understand not, nor think he did well that writ it, though a most learned man. Then, after supper, I made the boy play upon his lute, which I have not done before since he come to me; and so, my mind in mighty content, we to bed.

26th. At noon to dinner, and then abroad with my wife to a play, at the Duke of York's house, the house full of ordinary citizens. The play was "Women Pleased,"[1] which we had never seen before; and, though but indifferent, yet there is a good design for a good play.

27th. (Lord's-day.) Saw the King at Chapel; but staid not to hear anything, but went to walk in the Park, with W. Hewer; and there, among others, met with Sir G. Downing, and walked with him an hour, talking of business, and how the late war was managed, there being nobody to take care of it: and he telling, when he was in Holland, what he offered the King to do, if he might have power, and then, upon the least word, perhaps of a woman, to the King, he was contradicted again, and particularly to the loss of all that we lost in Guinny. He told me that he had so good spies, that he hath had the keys taken out of De Witt's[2] pocket when he was a-bed, and his closet opened, and papers brought to him, and left in his hands for an hour, and carried back and laid in

rendered into English: London, 1653, 4to. The translator whose name did not appear on the title, was William, Viscount Brouncker, Pepy's colleague, who proved his knowledge of music by the performance.

[1] A Tragi-Comedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher: fol., 1647; Oct., 1778, well thought of at the time, though, when revived at Drury Lane, nearly a century ago, it met with no success.

[2] The celebrated John de Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland, who, a few years afterwards, was massacred, with his brother Cornelius, by the Dutch mob, enraged at their opposition to the elevation of William of Orange to the Stadtholdership, when the States were overrun by the French army, and the Dutch fleets beaten at sea by the English.

the place again, and keys put into De Witt's pocket again. He says he hath always had their most private debates, that have been but between two or three of the chief of them, brought to him in an hour after, and an hour after that, hath sent word thereof to the King, but nobody here regarded them. But he tells me the sad news, that he is out of all expectations that ever the debts of the Navy will be paid, if the Parliament do not enable the King to do it by money; all they can hope for to do out of the King's revenue being but to keep our wheels a-going on present services, and, if they can, to cut off the growing interest: which is a sad story, and grieves me to the heart.

28th. Called up by drums and trumpets; these things and boxes having cost me much money this Christmas already, and will do more.

29th. Up, and at the Office all the morning, and at noon to dinner, and there, by a pleasant mistake, find my uncle and aunt Wight, and three more of their company, come to dine with me to-day, thinking that they had been invited, which they were not; but yet we did give them a pretty good dinner, and mighty merry at the mistake. They sat most of the afternoon with us, and then parted, and my wife and I out, thinking to have gone to a play, but it was too far begun, and so to the 'Change, and there she and I bought several things, and so home, with much pleasure, talking, and then to reading, and so to supper, and to bed.

30th. Up, and vexed a little to be forced to pay 40*s.* for a glass of my coach, which was broke the other day, nobody knows how, within the door, while it was down; but I do doubt that I did break it myself with my knees. After dinner, my wife and I to the Duke's playhouse, and there did see "King Harry the Eighth;" and was mightily pleased, better than I ever expected, with the history and shows of it. We happened to sit by Mr. Andrews, our

neighbour, and his wife, who talked so fondly to his little boy. Thence my wife and I to the 'Change; but, in going, our neere horse did fling himself, kicking of the coachbox over the pole; and a great deal of trouble it was to get him right again, and we forced to 'light, and in great fear of spoiling the horse, but there was no hurt.

1668–9.

January 1st. Presented from Captain Beckford,[1] with a noble silver warming-pan, which I am doubtful whether to take or no. To the cabinet-shops, to look out, and did agree, for a cabinet to give my wife for a New-year's gift; and I did buy one cost me £11, which is very pretty, of walnutt-tree. To the Old Exchange, and met my uncle Wight; and there walked, and met with the Houblons, and talked with them—gentlemen whom I honour mightily: and so to my uncle's, and met my wife; and there, with W. Hewer, we dined with our family, and had a very good dinner, and pretty merry: and after dinner, my wife and I with our coach to the King's playhouse, and there in a box saw "The Mayden Queene." Knipp looked upon us, but I durst not show her any countenance; and, as well as I could carry myself, I found my wife uneasy there, poor wretch! therefore, I shall avoid that house

[1] —— Beckford, of Maidenhead, tailor, left two sons, one of whom, Thomas, a clothworker, became Sheriff of London, and was knighted on the 29th December, 1677. He is the slopseller mentioned in vol. iii., p. 373. His brother, Peter Beckford, probably the person here alluded to, had a son of the same names, who rose to the rank of colonel in the army, having estates in Jamaica, and settling in that island. He became President of the Council there, in the latter part of Charles the Second's reign; was made Governor and Commander-in-Chief by William III.; and died immensely rich. Governor Beckford had a son of the same names, who was father of the well-known Alderman Beckford, and grandfather of the late owner of Fonthill.

as soon as I can. So back to my aunt's, and there supped and talked, and staid pretty late, it being dry and moonshine, and so walked home.

2nd. Home to dinner, where I find my cabinet, and paid for it, and it pleases me and my wife well.

3rd. (Lord's day.) Busy all the morning, getting rooms and dinner ready for my guests, which were my uncle and aunt Wight, and two of their cousins, and an old woman, and Mr. Mills and his wife; and a good dinner, and all our plate out, and mighty fine and merry, only I a little vexed at burning a new tablecloth myself, with one of my trencher-salts.[1] Dinner done, I out with W. Hewer and Mr. Spong, who by accident come to dine with me, and good talk with him: to White Hall by coach, and there left him. Up and down the House till the evening, hearing how the King do intend[2] this frosty weather, it being this day the first, and very hard frost, that hath come this year, and very cold it is. So home; and to supper and read; and there my wife and I treating about coming to an allowance to her for clothes; and there I, out of my natural backwardness, did hang off, which vexed her, and did occasion some discontented talk in bed, when we went to bed; and also in the morning, but I did recover all.

4th. Talking with my wife, and did of my own accord come to an allowance of her of £30 a-year for all expences, clothes and everything, which she was mightily pleased with, it being more than ever she asked or expected, and so rose, with much content. W. Hewer and I went and saw the great tall woman that is to be seen, who is but twenty-one years old, and I do easily stand under her arms. Then, going further, The. Turner called me out of her coach, where her mother, &c., was,

[1] It would seem that the wooden salt-cellar was burnt, together with the tablecloth.

[2] This sentence seems imperfect.

and invited me by all means to dine with them, at my cosen Roger's mistress's, the widow Dickenson. So I went to them afterwards, and dined with them, and mighty handsomely treated, and she a wonderfully merry, good-humoured, fat, but plain woman, but I believe a very good woman, and mighty civil to me. Mrs. Turner, the mother, and Mrs. Dyke, and The., and Betty was the company, and a gentleman of their acquaintance. Betty I did long to see, and she is indifferent pretty, but not what the world did speak of her; but I am mighty glad to have one so pretty of our kindred. After dinner, I walked with them, to show them the great woman, which they admire, as well they may; and back with them, and left them; and I to White Hall, where a Committee of Tangier met; and I did receive an instance of the Duke of York's kindness to me, and the whole Committee, that they would not order any thing about the Treasury for the Corporation now in establishing, without my assent, and considering whether it would be to my wrong or no. Thence up and down the house, and to the Duke of York's side, and there in the Duchesse's presence; and was mightily complimented by my Lady Peterborough, in my Lord Sandwich's presence, whom she engaged to thank me for my kindness to her and her Lord. By and by I met my Lord Brouncker; and he and I to the Duke of York alone, and discoursed over the carriage of the present Treasurers, in opposition to, or at least independency of the Duke of York, or our Board, which the Duke of York is sensible of, and all remember, I believe; for they do carry themselves very respectlessly of him and us. We also declared our minds together to the Duke of York about Sir John Minnes's incapacity to do any service in the Office: he promised to speak to the King about it. To supper, and put into writing, in merry terms, an agreement between my wife and me about the £30 a-year, and so to bed. This was done

under both our hands merrily, and put into W. Hewer's to keep.

5th. The frost and cold continuing. At noon home with my people to dinner, and in the evening comes Creed to me, and tells me his wife is at my house. So I in, and spent an hour with them, the first time she hath been here, or I have seen her, since she was married. She is not over-handsome, though a good lady, and one I love. So after some pleasant discourse, they gone, I to the Office again.

6th. At noon comes Mrs. Turner and Dyke, and Mrs. Dickenson, and then comes The. and Betty Turner, the latter of which is a very pretty girl; and then Creed and his wife, whom I sent for, by my coach. These were my guests, and Mrs. Turner's friend, whom I saw the other day, Mr. Wicken, and very merry we were at dinner, and so all the afternoon, talking, and looking up and down my house; and in the evening I did bring out my cake—a noble cake, and there cut it into pieces, with wine and good drink: and after a new fashion, to prevent spoiling the cake, did put so many titles into a hat, and so drew cuts; and I was the Queene; and The. Turner, King—Creed, Sir Martin Marr-all; and Betty, Mrs. Millicent: and so we were mighty merry till it was midnight; and, being moonshine and fine frost, they went home, I lending some of them my coach to help to carry them.

7th. My wife and I to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Island Princesse,"[1] the first time I ever saw it; and it is a pretty good play, many good things being in it, and a good scene of a town on fire. We sat in an upper box, and the jade Nell came and sat in the next box; a bold merry slut, who lay laughing there upon people; and with a comrade of the Duke's house, that came in to see the play.

8th. Up, and with Colonel Middleton, in his coach, and

[1] A Tragi-Comedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher.

Mr. Tippets to White Hall; and there attended the Duke of York with the rest, where the Duke was mighty plain with the Treasurers, according to the advice my Lord Brouncker and I did give him the other night, and he did it fully; and so as, I believe, will make the Treasurers carefull of themselves, unless they do resolve upon defying the Duke of York. At the Treasury-Chamber, where I alone did manage the business of "The Leopard" against the whole Committee of the East India Company, with Mr. Blackburne with them; and to the silencing of them all, to my no great content. Home to my wife's chamber, my people having laid the cloth, and got the rooms all clean above-stairs for our dinner to-morrow.

9th. At noon, my Lord Brouncker, Mr. Wren, Joseph Williamson, and Captain Cocke, dined with me; and, being newly sat down, comes in, by invitation of Williamson's, the Lieutenant of the Tower, and he brings in with him young Mr. Where, whose father, of the Tower, I know. And here I had a neat dinner, and all in so good manner and fashion, and with so good company, and everything to my mind, as I never had more in my life—the company being to my heart's content, and they all well pleased. So continued, looking over my books and closet till the evening.

10th. (Lord's-day.) Accidentally talking of our maids before we rose, I said a little word that did give occasion to my wife to fall out; and she did most excessively, almost all the morning, but ended most perfect good friends; but the thoughts of the unquiet which her ripping up of old faults will give me, did make me melancholy all day long.

11th. Abroad with my wife to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Joviall Crew;" but ill acted to what it was heretofore, in Clun's time, and when Lacy could dance. Thence to the New Exchange, to buy some things; and, among others, my wife did give me my pair

of gloves, which, by contract, she is to give me in her £30 a-year. Here Mrs. Smith[1] tells of the great murder thereabouts, on Saturday last, of one Captain Bumbridge, by one Symons, both of her acquaintance; and hectors that were at play, and in drink: the former is killed, and is kinsman to my Lord of Ormond, which made him speak of it with so much passion. So home; and there all the evening; and made Tom to prick down some little conceits and notions of mine, in musick, which do mightily encourage me to spend some more thoughts about it; for I fancy, upon good reason, that I am in the right way of unfolding the mystery of this matter, better than ever yet.

12th. Up, and to the Office, where, by occasion of a message from the Treasurers that their Board found fault with Commissioner Middleton, I went up from our Board to the Lords of the Treasury, and there did dispute the business, it being about the matter of paying a little money to Chatham Yard, wherein I find the Treasurers mighty supple, and I believe we shall bring them to reason, though they begun mighty upon us, as if we had no power of directing them, but they, us. Thence back presently home, to dinner, where I discern my wife to have been in pain about where I have been, but said nothing to me, but I believe did send W. Hewer to seek me, but I take no notice of it, but am vexed. So to dinner with my people, and then to the Office, where all the afternoon, and did much business, and at it late, and so home to supper, and to bed. This day, meeting Mr. Pierce at White Hall, he tells me that his boy hath a great mind to see me, and is going to school again; and Dr. Clerke, being by, do tell me that he is a fine boy; but I durst not answer anything, because I durst not invite him to my house, for fear of my wife; and therefore, to my great trouble, was forced to neglect that discourse. Mr. Pierce, I asking him whither he was going, told me

[1] Pepys's pretty sempstress.

as a great secret that he was going to his master's mistress, Mrs. Churchill,[1] with some physic; meaning, I suppose, that she is with child. This evening I observed my wife mighty dull, and I myself was not mighty fond, because of some hard words she did give me at noon, out of a jealousy at my being abroad this morning, which, God knows, it was upon the business of the Office unexpectedly: but I to bed, not thinking but she would come after me. But waking by and by, out of a slumber, which I usually fall into presently after my coming into the bed, I found she did not prepare to come to bed, but got fresh candles, and more wood for her fire, it being mighty cold, too. At this being troubled, I after a while prayed her to come to bed; so, after an hour or two, she silent, and I now and then praying her to come to bed, she fell out into a fury, that I was a rogue, and false to her. I did, as I might truly, deny it, and was mightily troubled, but all would not serve. At last, about one o'clock, she come to my side of the bed, and drew my curtaine open, and with the tongs red hot at the ends, made as if she did design to pinch me with them,[2] at which, in dismay, I rose up, and with a few words she laid them down; and did by little and little, very sillily, let all the discourse fall; and about two, but with much seeming difficulty, come to bed, and there lay well all night, and long in bed talking together, with much pleasure, it being,

[1] Arabella Churchill, sister to John Duke of Marlborough, and one of the Maids of Honour to the Duchess of York. James Duke of Berwick and three other children were the fruits of this intrigue. She married subsequently Colonel Godfrey, Comptroller of the Household, and died 1730, aged 82.

[2] Mrs. Pepys seemed inclined to have acted on the legend of St. Dunstan, who—

> ———"as the story goes,
> Once pull'd the devil by the nose
> With *red-hot tongs*, which made him roar,
> That he was heard three miles or more."

I know, nothing but her doubt of my going out yesterday, without telling her of my going, which did vex her, poor wretch! last night, and I cannot blame her jealousy, though it do vex me to the heart.

13th. Home, after visiting my Lady Peterborough, and there by invitation find Mr. Povy, and there was also Talbot Pepys, newly come from Impington, and dined with me. After dinner, I and my wife and Talbot towards the Temple, and there to the King's playhouse, and there saw, I think, "The Maiden Queene." This day come home the instrument I have so long longed for, the Paralellogram.

15th. To Sir W. Coventry, where with him a good while in his chamber, talking of the great factions at Court at this day, even to the sober engaging of great persons, and differences, and making the King cheap and ridiculous. It is about my Lady Harvy's being offended at Doll Common's acting of Sempronia,[1] to imitate her; for which she got my Lord Chamberlain,

[1] The following cast of parts in "The Alchymist," as acted by the King's company, and given by Downes, in his *Roscius Anglicanus*, furnishes a clue to the actress described here, and in a former passage, as "Doll Common:"—

Subtle	Mr. Clun.
Face	Major Mohun.
Sir E. Mammon . . .	Mr. Cartwright.
Surly	Mr. Burt.
Ananias	Mr. Lacy.
Wholesome	Mr. Bateman.
Doll Common	*Mrs. Corey.*
Dame Plyant	Mrs. Rutter.

The identity, however, is placed beyond doubt, by a reference to "Catiline's Conspiracy," where we find Mrs. Cory acting the part of Sempronia, in which "Doll Common," as Pepys styles her, gave offence, by imitating Lady Harvey, and, consequently, was sent to prison. We may add, that Mrs. Corey's name stands first in the list of female performers in the King's company, under Killigrew: see *Roscius Anglicanus*, 1708.

her kinsman,[1] to imprison Doll: upon which my Lady Castlemaine made the King to release her, and to order her to act it again, worse than ever, the other day, where the King himself was; and since it was acted again, and my Lady Harvy provided people to hiss her and fling oranges at her: but it seems the heat is come to a great height, and real troubles at Court about it. Through the Park, where I met the King and the Duke of York, and so walked with them; and I did give the Duke of York thanks for his favour to me yesterday, at the Committee of Tangier, in my absence, where some business was brought forward which the Duke of York would not suffer to go on, without my presence at the debate. And he answered me just thus: that he ought to have a care of him that do the King's business in the manner that I do, and words of more force than that. Then down with Lord Brouncker to Sir R. Murray, into the King's little elaboratory, under his closet, a pretty place; and there saw a great many chymical glasses and things, but understood none of them. With my wife at my cosen Turner's, where I staid, and sat a while, and carried The. and my wife to the Duke of York's house, to "Macbeth," and myself to White Hall, to the Lords of the Treasury, about Tangier business; and there was by, at much merry discourse between them and my Lord Anglesey, who made sport of our new Treasurers, and called them his deputys, and much of that kind. And having done my own business, I away back, and carried my cosen Turner and sister Dyke to a friend's house, where they sup, in Lincoln's Inn Fields; and I to the Duke of York's house, and so carried The. thither, and so home with my wife. This day The. Turner shewed me at the play my Lady Portman,[2] who was grown out of my knowledge.

[1] See note in vol. i., p. 270.

[2] Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Cutler, (by his second lady) married to Sir William Portman, K.B., who was the third and last

16th. This morning Creed, and in the afternoon comes Povy, to advise with me about my answer to the Lords Commissioners of Tangier, about the propositions for the Treasurership there,[1] which I am not much concerned for. But the latter, talking of publick things, told me, as Mr. Wren also did, that the Parliament is likely to meet again, the King being frighted with what the Speaker hath put him in mind of—his promise not to prorogue, but only to adjourne them. They speak mighty freely of the folly of the King in this foolish woman's business, of my Lady Harvy. Povy tells me that Sir W. Coventry was with the King alone, an hour this day; and that my Lady Castlemaine is now in a higher command over the King than ever—not as a mistress, for she scorns him, but as a tyrant, to command him: and says that the Duchesse of York and the Duke of York are mighty great with her, which is a great interest to my Lord Chancellor's[2] family; and that they do agree to hinder all they can the proceedings of the Duke of Buckingham and Arlington: and so we are in the old mad condition, or rather worse than any; no man knowing what the French intend to do the next summer.

17th. After church, home, and thither comes Mrs. Batelier and her two daughters to dinner with us; and W. Hewer and his mother, and Mr. Spong. We were very civilly merry, and Mrs. Batelier a very discreet woman, but mighty fond in the stories she tells of her son Will. After dinner, Mr. Spong and I to my closet, there to try my instrument Paralellogram, which do mighty well, to my full content; but only a little stiff, as being new. Thence, taking leave of my guests, to White Hall, and there parting with Spong, a man that I

Baronet of his family. Pepys could have known neither of his former wives.

[1] See p. 66, *ante*.

[2] Clarendon, whom Pepys mentions by his former Office.

mightily love for his plainness and ingenuity, spoke with my Lords Bellassis and Peterborough about the business now in dispute, about my deputing a Treasurer to pay the garrison at Tangier, which I would avoid, and not be accountable, and they will serve me therein. Here I met Hugh May, and he brings me to the knowledge of Sir Henry Capell,[1] a Member of Parliament, and brother of my Lord of Essex, who hath a great value, it seems, for me; and they appoint a day to come and dine with me, and see my books, and papers of the Office, which I shall be glad to show them, and have opportunity to satisfy them therein. Here all the discourse is, that now the King is of opinion to have the Parliament called, notwithstanding his late resolutions for proroguing them; so unstable are his councils, and those about him.

18th. To Sir W. Coventry's, and there discourse the business of my Treasurer's place, at Tangier, wherein he consents to my desire, and concurs therein, which I am glad of, that I may not be accountable for a man so far off. And so I to my Lord Sandwich's, and there walk with him through the garden,[2] to White Hall, where he tells me what he hath done about this Treasurer's place, and I perceive the whole thing did proceed from him: that finding it would be best to have the Governor have nothing to do with the pay of the garrison, he did propose to the Duke of York alone that a pay-master should be there; and that being desirous to do a courtesy to Sir

[1] Henry, second son of Arthur, first Baron Capel of Hadham, and himself elevated to the Peerage, in 1692, by the title of Lord Capel of Tewkesbury, for which town he had served in Parliament. He had been created K.B. at the coronation of Charles II., and was a leading Member of the House of Commons; and in 1679, appointed First Commissioner of the Admiralty. At the time of his death at Dublin Castle, 30th May, 1696, he was Lord Deputy of Ireland. He left no issue.

[2] The Privy Garden.

Charles Harbord,[1] and to prevent the Duke of York's looking out for any body else, he did name him to the Duke of York. That when he came the other day to move this to the board of Tangier, the Duke of York, it seems, did readily reply, that it was fit to have Mr. Pepys satisfied therein first, and that it was not good to make places for persons. This my Lord in great confidence tells me, that he do take very ill from the Duke of York, though nobody knew the meaning of these words but him; and that he did take no notice of them, but bit his lip, being satisfied that the Duke of York's care of me was as desirable to him, as it could be to serve Sir Charles Harbord: and did seem industrious to let me see that he was glad that the Duke of York and he might come to contend who shall be the kindest to me, which I owned as his great love, and so I hope and believe it is, though my Lord did go a little too far in this business, to move it so far, without consulting me. But I took no notice of that, but was glad to see this competition come about, that my Lord Sandwich is apparently jealous of my thinking that the Duke of York do mean me more

[1] This person, erroneously called by Pepys Sir C. Herbert, vol. ii., p. 295, will be best defined by subjoining the inscription on his monument in Westminster Abbey:—"Sir Charles Harbord, Knight, third son of Sir Charles Harbord, Knight, Surveyor-General; and First Lieutenant of the Royall James, under the most noble and illustrious Captaine, Edward, Earle of Sandwich, Vice-Admirall of England, which, after a terrible fight, maintained to admiration against a squadron of the Holland Fleet, above six houres, neere the Suffolk coast, having put off two fire-ships, at last, being utterly disabled, and few of her men remaining unhurt, was, by a third, unfortunately set on fire. But He (though he swome well) neglected to save himselfe, as some did, and out of perfect love to that worthy Lord, whom, for many yeares, he had constantly accompanyed, in all his honourable employments, and in all the engagements of the former warre, dyed with him, at the age of xxxii, much bewailed of his father, whom he never offended, and much beloved of all for his knowne piety, vertue, loyalty, fortitude, and fidelity."

kindness than him. So we walked together, and I took this occasion to invite him to dinner to my house, and he readily appointed Friday next, which I shall be glad to have over to his content, he having never yet eat a bit of my bread. Thence to the Duke of York on the King's side, and meeting Mr. Sidney Montagu and Sheres, a small invitation served their turn to carry them to London, where I paid Sheres his £100, given him for his pains in drawing the plate of Tangier fortifications. Home to my house to dinner, where I had a pretty handsome sudden dinner, and all well pleased; and thence we three and my wife to the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw the "Witts," a medley of things, but some similes mighty good, though ill mixed. At White Hall, and there in the Queene's withdrawing-room invited my Lord Peterborough to dine with me, with my Lord Sandwich, who readily accepted it. To the Pope's Head tavern, there to see the fine painted room which Rogerson told me of, of his doing; but I do not like it at all, though it be good for such a publick room.

19th. At noon eat a mouthful, and so with my wife to Madam Turner's, and find her gone, but The. staid for us; and so to the King's house, to see "Horace;"[1] this the third day of its acting—a silly tragedy; but Lacy hath made a farce of several dances—between each act one: but his words are but silly, and invention not extraordinary, as to the dances; only some Dutchman come out of the mouth and tail of a Hamburgh sow. Thence, not much pleased with the play, set them at home in the Strand; and my wife and I home, and there to do a little business at the Office, and so home to supper and to bed.

[1] There were two translations, about this period, of the "Horace" of P. Corneille; one by Charles Cotton; the other, which was performed at Court, by Catherine Phillips, the fifth act being added by Sir John Denham.

20th. Up; and my wife, and I, and W. Hewer to White Hall, where she set us down; and there I spoke with my Lord Peterborough, to tell him of the day for his dining with me, being altered by my Lord Sandwich from Friday to Saturday next. Heard at the Council-board the City, by their single counsel Symson, and the Company of Strangers Merchants,[1] debate the business of water-baylage; a tax demanded upon all goods, by the City, imported and exported: which these Merchants oppose, and demanding leave to try the justice of the City's demand by a Quo Warranto, which the City opposed, the Merchants did quite lay the City on their backs with great triumph, the City's cause being apparently too weak: but here I observed Mr. Gold,[2] the merchant, to speak very well, and very sharply, against the City. To the Duke of York's house, and saw "Twelfth Night," as it is now revived; but, I think, one of the weakest plays that ever I saw on the stage. This afternoon, before the play, I called with my wife at Dancre's,[3] the great landscape-painter, by Mr. Povy's advice; and have bespoke him to come to take measure of my dining-room panels. There I met with the pretty daughter of the coal-seller's, that lived in Cheapside, and now in Covent Garden, who hath her picture drawn here, but very poorly; but she is a pretty woman, and now, I perceive, married, a very pretty black woman. Home, my wife letting fall some words of her observing my eyes to be mightily employed in the play-house, meaning upon women, which did vex me; but, however, when we come

[1] There was no company of Strangers' Merchants. Pepys possibly meant the Eastland Company, trading to the Baltic.

[2] Edward Gold, a native of Devonshire, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Gower, of Highgate.

[3] Henry Dankers, born at the Hague, employed by Charles II. to paint views of his sea-ports and palaces. He followed his profession for some years in London.

home, we were good friends; and so to read, and to supper, and so to bed.

21st. In my own coach home, where I find Madam Turner, Dyke, and The.; and had a good dinner for them, and merry; and so carried them to the Duke of York's house, all but Dyke, who went away on other business; and there saw "The Tempest;" but it is but ill done by Gosnell, in lieu of Moll Davis. Thence set them at home with my wife; and I to the 'Change, and so home, where my wife mighty dogged, and I vexed to see it, being mightily troubled of late, at her being out of humour, for fear of her discovering any new matter of offence against me, though I am conscious of none; but do hate to be unquiet at home. So, late up, silent, and not supping, but hearing her utter some words of discontent to me with silence, and so to bed, weeping to myself for grief, which she discerning, come to bed, and mighty kind.

22nd. To the Exchange, calling at several places on occasions relating to my feast to-morrow, on which my mind is now set; as how to get a new looking-glass for my dining-room, and some pewter, and good wine, against to-morrow; and so home, where I had the looking-glass set up, cost me *£6. 7s. 6d.* At the Change I met with Mr. Dancre, with whom I was, on Wednesday; and he took measure of my panels in my dining-room, where, in the four, I intend to have the four houses of the King, White Hall, Hampton Court, Greenwich, and Windsor. Mightily pleased with the fellow that came to lay the cloth, and fold the napkins, which I like so well, as that I am resolved to give him *40s.* to teach my wife to do it. So to supper, with much kindness between me and my wife, which, now-a-days, is all my care, and so to bed.

23d. To the Office till noon, when word brought me that my Lord Sandwich was come; so I presently rose, and there I found my Lords Sandwich, Peterborough, and Sir Charles Harbord; and presently after them comes

my Lord Hinchingbroke, Mr. Sidney,[1] and Sir William Godolphin. And after greeting them, and some time spent in talk, dinner was brought up, one dish after another, but a dish at a time, but all so good; but, above all things, the variety of wines, and excellent of their kind, I had for them, and all in so good order, that they were mightily pleased, and myself full of content at it: and indeed it was, of a dinner of about six or eight dishes, as noble as any man need to have, I think; at least, all was done in the noblest manner that ever I had any, and I have rarely seen in my life better any where else, even at the Court. After dinner, my Lords to cards, and the rest of us sitting about them and talking, and looking on my books and pictures, and my wife's drawings, which they commended mightily; and mighty merry all day long, with exceeding great content, and so till seven at night; and so took their leaves, it being dark and foul weather. Thus was this entertainment over, the best of its kind, and the fullest of honour and content to me, that ever I had in my life: and I shall not easily have so good again. The truth is, I have some fear that I am more behind-hand in the world for these last two years, since I have not, or for some time could not, look after my accounts, which do a little allay my pleasure. But I do trust in God that I am pretty well yet, and resolve, in a very little time, to look into my accounts, and see how they stand.

24th. (Lord's-day.) An order brought me in bed, for the Principal Officers to attend the King at my Lord Keeper's this afternoon, it being resolved late the last night; and, by the warrant, I find my Lord Keeper did not then know the cause of it, the messenger being ordered to call upon him, to tell it him by the way, as he came to us. So I up, and to my Office to set down my Journall for yesterday, and so home, and with my

[1] Montagu.

wife to Church, and then home, and to dinner, and after dinner out with my wife by coach, to cosen Turner's, where she and The. gone to Church, but I left my wife with Mrs. Dyke and Joyce Norton, whom I have not seen till now since their coming to town: she has become an old woman, and with as cunning a look as ever. I to White Hall; and here I met Will. Batelier, newly come post from France, his boots all dirty. He brought letters to the King, and I glad to see him, it having been reported that he was drowned, for some days past. By and by the King comes out, and so I took coach, and followed his coaches to my Lord Keeper's, at Essex House,[1] where I never was before, since I saw my old Lord Essex lie in state when he was dead; a large, but ugly house. Here all the Officers of the Navy attended, and by and by were called in to the King and Cabinet, where my Lord, who was ill, did lie upon the bed, as my old Lord Treasurer, or Chancellor, heretofore used to do; and the business was to know in what time all the King's ships might be repaired, fit for service. The Surveyor answered, in two years, and not sooner. I did give them hopes that, with supplies of money suitable, we might have them all fit for sea, some part of the summer after this. Then they demanded in what time we could set out forty ships. It was answered, as they might be chosen of the newest and most ready, we could, with money, get forty ready against May. The King seemed mighty full that we should have money to do all that we desired, and satisfied that, without it, nothing could be done: and so, without determining any thing, we were dismissed; and I doubt all will end

[1] Essex House, where Robert Devereux, third Earl of that name, died, in 1646, when Pepys was fourteen years old, stood formerly on the site of Essex Street and Devereux Court, near the Temple. It had belonged, in the reign of Elizabeth, to the Earl of Leicester, who left it to the second Earl, father of the Parliamentary General here mentioned.

in some little fleet this year, and that of hired merchant-men, which would indeed be cheaper to the King, and have many conveniencies attending it, more than to fit out the King's own; and this, I perceive, is designed, springing from Sir W. Coventry's counsel; and the King and most of the Lords, I perceive, full of it, to get the King's fleet all at once in condition for service. Thence with Mr. Wren in his coach, for discourse' sake: and he told me how the business of the Parliament is wholly laid aside, it being overruled now, that they shall not meet, but must be prorogued, upon this argument chiefly, that all the differences between the two Houses, and things on foot, that were matters of difference and discontent, may be laid aside, and must begin again, if ever the House shall have a mind to pursue them. Here he set me down, and I to my cosen Turner, and staid and talked a little; and so took my wife, and home, and there to make her read, and then to supper, and to bed. At supper come W. Batelier and supped with us, and told us many pretty things of France, and the greatness of the present King.

25th. My wife showed me many excellent prints of Nantueill's[1] and others, which W. Batelier hath, at my desire, brought me out of France, of the King, and Colbert, and others, most excellent, to my great content. But he hath also brought a great many gloves perfumed, of several sorts; but all too big by half for her, and yet she will have two or three dozen of them, which vexed me, and made me angry. So she, at last, to please me, did come to take what alone I thought fit, which pleased me.

26th. To the Office, and then to White Hall, leaving my wife at Unthanke's; and I to the Secretary's chamber, where I was, by particular order, this day summonsed to attend, as I find Sir D. Gauden also was. And here was the King and the Cabinet met; and, being called in,

[1] Robert Nanteuil, the celebrated French engraver, a native of Rheims. He died at Paris in 1678.

among the rest I find my Lord Privy Seale, whom I never before knew to be in so much play, as to be of the Cabinet. The business is, that the Algerines have broke the peace with us, by taking some Spaniards and goods out of an English ship, which had the Duke of York's pass, of which advice came this day; and the King is resolved to stop Sir Thomas Allen's fleet from coming home, till he hath amends made him for this affront, and therefore sent for us to advise about victuals to be sent to that fleet, and some more ships; wherein I answered them to what they demanded of me, which was but some few mean things; but I see that on all these occasions they seem to rely most upon me. Home, and there I find W. Batelier hath also sent the books which I made him bring me out of France. Among others, L'Estat de France,[1] Marnix, &c., to my great content; and so I was well pleased with them: as also one or two printed musick-books of songs; but my eyes are now too much out of tune to look upon them, with any pleasure.

27th. To my cosen Turner's, where I find Roger Pepys come last night to town, and here is his mistress, Mrs. Dickenson, and by and by comes in Mr. Turner, a worthy, sober, serious man—I honour him mightily. And there we dined, having but an ordinary dinner; and so, after dinner, she, and I, and Roger, and his mistress, to the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw "The Five Hours' Adventure," which hath not been acted a good while before, but once, and is a most excellent play, I must confess.

28th. Going home to supper with my wife, and to get her to read to me, I did find that Mr. Sheres hath, beyond his promise, not only got me a candlestick made me, after a form he remembers to have seen in Spain, for keeping

[1] Resolutions Politiques, ou Maximes d'Etat, par Jean de Marnix, Baron de Potes: Bruxelles, 1612, fol. There were two later editions of this work printed at Rouen.

the light from one's eyes, but hath got it done in silver very neat, and designs to give it me, in thanks for my paying him his £100 in money, for his service at Tangier, which was ordered him; but I do intend to force him to make me pay for it. But I yet, without his direction, cannot tell how it is to be made use of.

29th. To the Duke of York, where I did give a severe account of our proceedings, and what we found, in the business of Sir W. Jenings's demand of Supernumeraries. I thought it a good occasion to make an example of him, for he is a proud, idle fellow; and it did meet with the Duke of York's acceptance and well-liking; and he did call him in, after I had done, and did not only give him a soft rebuke, but condemns him to pay both their victuals and wages, or right himself of the purser. This I was glad of, and so were all the rest of us, though I know I have made myself an immortal enemy by it. My aunt Wight and her husband come presently, and so to dinner; and after dinner, Roger, and I, and my wife, and aunt, to see Mr. Cole; but [neither] he nor his wife was within, but we looked upon his picture of Cleopatra, which I went principally to see, being so much commended by my wife and aunt; but I find it a base copy of a good originall, that vexed me to hear so much commended. Thence to see Creed's wife, where both of them within; and here met Mr. Bland, newly come from Cales, after his differences with Norwood.[1] I think him a foolish, light-headed man; but certainly he hath been abused in this matter, by Colonel Norwood. Here Creed showed me a copy of some propositions, which Bland and others, in the name of the Corporation of Tangier, did present to Norwood, for his opinion in, in order to the King's service, which were drawn up very humbly, and were really good things; but his answer to them was in the most proud, carping, insolent, and ironically-prophane

[1] See p. 56, *ante*.

stile, that ever I saw in my life, so as I shall never think the place can do well, while he is there. Here, after some talk, and Creed's telling us that he is upon taking the next house to his present lodgings, which is next to that which my cosen Tom Pepys once lived in, in Newport Street, in Covent Garden; and is in a good place, and then, I suppose, he will keep his coach. So, setting Roger down at the Temple, who tells me that he is now concluded in all matters with his widow, we home, and there hired my wife to make an end of Boyle's Book of Formes, to-night and to-morrow; and so fell to read and sup, and then to bed. This day, Mr. Ned Pickering brought his lady to see my wife, in acknowledgement of a little present of oranges and olives, which I sent her, for his kindness to me in the buying of my horses, which was very civil. She is old, but hath, I believe, been a pretty comely woman.[1]

30th. Lay long in bed, it being a fast-day for the murder of the late King; and so up and to Church, where Dr. Hicks made a dull sermon; and so home, and W. Batelier and Balty dined with us, and I spent all the afternoon with my wife and W. Batelier talking, and then making them read, and particularly made an end of Mr. Boyle's Book of Formes, which I am glad to have over. W. Batelier then fell to read a French discourse, which he hath brought over with him for me, to invite the people of France to apply themselves to Navigation, which it do very well, and is certainly their interest, and what will undo us in a few years, if the King of France goes on to fit up his Navy, and encrease it and his trade, as he hath begun. After supper, my wife begun another book I lately bought, called "The State of England,"[2] which promises well, and is worth reading.

31st. (Lord's-day.) To Church, and there did hear the

[1] See note, vol. i., p. 44.

[2] Angliæ Notitia, 1668, &c., by Edward Chamberlayne, LL.D.

Doctor that is lately turned Divine, Dr. Waterhouse.[1] He preaches in a devout manner, not elegant nor very persuasive, but seems to mean well, and that he would preach holily; and was mighty passionate against people that make a scoff of religion. And, the truth is, I did observe Mrs. Hollworthy smile often, and many others of the parish, who, I perceive, have known him, and were in mighty expectation of hearing him preach, but could not forbear smiling, and she particularly on me, and I on her. So home to dinner: and before dinner to my Office, to set down my Journall for this week, and then home to dinner; and after dinner to get my wife and boy, one after another, to read to me: and so spent the afternoon and the evening, and so after supper to bed. And thus endeth this month, with many different days of sadness and mirth, from differences between me and my wife; but this night we are at present very kind. And so ends this month.

February 1st. Up, and by water from the Tower to White Hall, the first time that I have gone to that end of the town by water, for two or three months, I think, since I kept a coach, which God send propitious to me; but it is a very great convenience. Meeting Mr. Povy, he and I away to Dancre's, to speak something touching the pictures I am getting him to make for me. And thence he carried me to Mr. Streeter's,[2] the famous history-painter, over the way, whom I have often heard of, but did never see him before; and there I found him, and Dr. Wren,[3] and several Virtuosos, looking upon the paintings which he is making for the new Theatre

[1] A. Wood, *Fasti*, II, mentions that John Waterhouse, of Trinity College, Cambridge, was created M.D. by virtue of letters from Oliver Cromwell, in 1650, and went over to Ireland as physician to the army, where he discharged his duties with ability and diligence.

[2] Robert Streater, appointed Serjeant-Painter at the Restoration. Ob. 1680.

[3] Sir Christopher Wren.

at Oxford: and, indeed, they look as if they would be very fine, and the rest think better than those of Rubens, in the Banqueting-house at White Hall, but I do not so fully think so. But they will certainly be very noble; and I am mightily pleased to have the fortune to see this man and his work, which is very famous; and he a very civil little man, and lame, but lives very handsomely. So thence to my Lord Bellassis, and met him within: my business only to see a chimney-piece of Dancre's doing, in distemper, with egg to keep off the glaring of the light, which I must have done for my room: and indeed it is pretty, but, I must confess, I do think it is not altogether so beautiful as the oyle pictures; but I will have some of one, and some of another. So to the King's playhouse, thinking to have seen "The Heyresse,"[1] first acted on Saturday last; but when we come thither, we find no play there; Kinaston, that did act a part therein, in abuse to Sir Charles Sedley, being last night exceedingly beaten with sticks, by two or three that saluted him, so as he is mightily bruised, and forced to keep his bed.[2] So we to the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw "She Would if She Could." This day, going to the play, The. Turner met us, and carried us to her mother, at my Lady Mordaunt's; and I did carry both mother and daughter with us to the Duke of York's playhouse, next door.

2d. To dinner at noon, where I find Mr. Sheres; and

[1] "The Heiress" does not appear in the list of the Duke of Newcastle's works, nor has any play of that name and date been traced. At the same time, it is to be observed that "Heir" was formerly used for "Heiress;" and such is the case in May's play of "The Heir," in vol. viii. of the last edition of Dodsley's Old Plays.

[2] The story about the caning of Kynaston is related by Malone, who tells us that Kynaston was vain of his personal resemblance to Sir. C. Sedley, and dressed exactly like him. Sedley, to revenge this insult, hired a bravo to chastise him in St. James's Park, under the pretext that he mistook him for the baronet. According to Pepys, it would seem that the imitation was made in the play of

there made a short dinner, and carried him with us to the King's playhouse, where "The Heyresse," notwithstanding Kinaston's being beaten, is acted: and they say the King is very angry with Sir Charles Sedley for his being beaten, but he do deny it. But his part is done by Beeston, who is fain to read it out of a book all the while, and thereby spoils the part, and almost the play, it being one of the best parts in it; and though the design is, in the first conception of it, pretty good, yet it is but an indifferent play; wrote, they say, by my Lord Newcastle. But it was pleasant to see Beeston come in with others, supposing it to be dark, and yet he is forced to read his part by the light of the candles: and this I observing to a gentleman that sat by me, he was mightily pleased therewith, and spread it up and down. But that, that pleased me most in the play is, the first song that Knipp sings, she singing three or four; and, indeed, it was very finely sung, so as to make the whole house clap her. Thence carried Sheres to White Hall, and there I stepped in, and looked out Mr. May, who tells me that he and his company cannot come to dine with me to-morrow, whom I expected only to come to see the manner of our Office and books, at which I was not very much displeased, having much business at the Office. My wife in mighty ill humour all night, and in the morning I found it to be from her observing Knipp to wink and smile on me, and she says I smiled on her; and, poor wretch! I did perceive that she

"The Heiress," which is very likely; and perhaps for this he got another beating, or it might be the same, and that in which the story, the scene of which is laid in the Park, originated. It is worth remarking, on the authority of Mr. Genest, the compiler of "*Some Account of the English Stage from* 1660 *to* 1830," that Sir C. Sedley expressly introduced the incident of the beating of one man for another, owing to similarity of dress and appearance, into his Comedy of "The Mulberry Garden," which seems to have been first acted 16th May, 1668, some time before the date Pepys assigns to the caning of Kynaston, viz., 1st February, 1668–9.

did, and do on all such occasions, mind my eyes. I did, with much difficulty, pacify her, and we were friends, she desiring that hereafter, at that house, we might always sit either above in a box, or, if there be no room, close up to the lower box.

3rd. Up; and to the Office till noon, and then home to a little dinner, and thither again till night, mighty busy, to my great content, doing a great deal of business, and so home to supper, and to bed, I finding this day that I may be able to do a great deal of business by dictating, if I do not read myself, or write, without spoiling my eyes, I being very well in my eyes, after a great day's work.

4th. Mr. Spong brings me two or three draughts of the port of Brest to my great content, and I did call Mr. Gibson to take notice of it, who is very much pleased therewith; and it seems this Parallelogram is not, as Mr. Sheres would, the other day, have persuaded me, the same as a Protractor,[1] which do so much the more make me value it, but of itself it is a most usefull instrument. Thence out with my wife and him, and carried him to an instrument-maker's shop, in Chancery Lane, that was once a 'prentice of Greatorex's, but the master was not within, and there Gibson showed me a Parallelogram in brass, which I like so well that I will buy, and therefore bid it be made clean and fit for me. And so to my cosen Turner's, and there just spoke with The., the mother not being at home; and so to the New Exchange, and thence home to my letters; and so to supper, and to bed. This morning I made a slip from the Office to White Hall, expecting Povy's business, at a Committee of Tangier, at which I would be, but it did not meet, and so I presently home.

5th. Betimes to Sir W. Coventry's, meaning by my visit to keep fresh my interest in him; and he tells me how it hath been talked that he was to go one of the

[1] An instrument used in surveying, by which the angles are taken.

Commissioners to Ireland, which he was resolved never to do, unless directly commanded: for that to go thither, while the Chief Secretary of State was his professed enemy, was to undo himself; and therefore it were better for him to venture being unhappy here, than to go further off, to be undone by some obscure instructions, or whatever other way of mischief his enemy should cut out for him. He mighty kind to me, and so parted. Thence home, calling in two or three places—among others, Dancre's, where I find him beginning of a piece for me of Greenwich, which will please me well, and so home to dinner, and very busy all the afternoon, and so at night home to supper, and to bed.

6th. To the King's playhouse, and there in an upper box, where come in Colonel Poynton and Doll Stacey, who is very fine, and, by her wedding-ring, I suppose he hath married her at last, did see "The Moor of Venice:" but ill acted in most parts, Mohun, which did a little surprize me, not acting Iago's part by much so well as Clun used to do: nor another Hart's, which was Cassio's; nor, indeed, Burt doing the Moor's so well as I once thought he did. Thence home, and just at Holborne-Conduit the bolt broke, that holds the fore-wheels to the perch, and so the horses went away with them, and left the coachman and us; but, being near our coach-maker's, and we staying in a little ironmonger's shop, we were presently supplied with another.

7th. I up, and to Church, and so home to dinner, where my wife in a jealous fit, which lasted all the afternoon, and shut herself up in her closet, and I mightily grieved and vexed, and could not get her to tell me what ailed her, or to let me into her closet, but at last she did, where I found her crying on the ground, and could not please her; but at last find that she did plainly expound it to me. It was, that she did believe me false to her with Jane, and did rip up three or four silly circumstances of

her not rising till I come out of my chamber, and her letting me thereby see her dressing herself; and that I must needs go into her chamber; which was so silly, and so far from truth, that I could not be troubled at it, though I could not wonder at her being troubled, if she had these thoughts. At last, I did give her such satisfaction, that we were mighty good friends.

8th. Up, and dressed myself; and by coach, with W. Hewer and my wife, to White Hall, where she set us down; and in the way, our little boy, at Martin, my bookseller's shop, going to 'light, did fall down; and, had he not been a most nimble boy, (I saw how he did it, and was mightily pleased with him for it) he had been run over by the coach. To visit my Lord Sandwich; and there, while my Lord was dressing himself, did see a young Spaniard, that he hath brought over with him, dance, which he is admired for, as the best dancer in Spain, and indeed he do with mighty mastery; but I do not like his dancing as well as the English, though my Lord commends it mightily: but I will have him to my house, and show it my wife. Here I met with Mr. Moore, who tells me the state of my Lord's accounts of his embassy, which I find not so good as I thought: for, though it be passed the King and his Cabal, the Committee for Foreign Affairs, as they are called, yet they have cut off from £19,000 full £8000, and have now sent it to the Lords of the Treasury, who, though the Committee have allowed the rest, yet they are not obliged to abide by it. So that I do fear this account may yet be long ere it be passed—much more, ere that sum be paid: I am sorry for the family, and not a little for what it owes me. To my wife, and in our way home did show her the tall woman, in Holborne, which I have seen before; and I measured her, and she is, without shoes, just six feet five inches high, and they say not above twenty-one years old. Thence home, and there to dinner, and my wife in a wonderfull ill humour; and, after dinner,

I staid with her alone, being not able to endure this life, and we fell to some angry words together; but by and by were mighty good friends, she telling me plain it was about Jane, which I made a matter of mirth at; but at last did call up Jane, and confirm her mistress's directions, for her being gone at Easter, which I find the wench willing to be, but directly prays that Tom might go with her, which I promised, and was but what I designed; and she being thus spoke with, and gone, my wife and I good friends. This day I was told by Mr. Wren, that Captain Cox, Master-Attendant at Deptford, is to be one of us very soon, he and Tippets being to take their turns for Chatham and Portsmouth, which choice I like well enough; and Captain Annesley is to come in his room at Deptford. This morning, also going to visit Roger Pepys, at the potticary's in King's Street, he tells me that Roger is gone to his wife's, so that they have been married, as he tells me, ever since the middle of last week: it was his design, upon good reasons, to make no noise of it; but I am well enough contented that it is over.

9th. To the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Island Princesse," which I like mighty well, as an excellent play: and here we find Kinaston to be well enough to act again, which he do very well, after his beating, by Sir Charles Sedley's appointment.

10th. To White Hall, where the Duke of York was gone a-hunting; and so to the plaisterer's at Charing Cross, that casts heads and bodies in plaister: and there I had my whole face done; but I was vexed first to be forced to daub all my face over with pomatum: but it was pretty to feel how soft and easily it is done on the face, and by and by, by degrees, how hard it becomes, that you cannot break it, and sits so close, that you cannot pull it off, and yet so easy, that it is as soft as a pillow, so safe is everything where many parts of the body do bear alike. Thus was the mould made; but when it came off

there was little pleasure in it, as it looks in the mould, nor any resemblance whatever there will be in the figure, when I come to see it cast off. To White Hall, where I staid till the Duke of York came from hunting, which he did by and by, and, when dressed, did come out to dinner; and there I waited: and he did mightily magnify his sauce, which he did then eat with every thing, and said it was the best universal sauce in the world, it being taught him by the Spanish Embassador; made of some parsley and a dry toast, beat in a mortar, together with vinegar, salt, and a little pepper: he eats it with flesh, or fowl, or fish: and then he did now mightily commend some new sort of wine lately found out, called Navarre wine, which I tasted, and is, I think, good wine: but I did like better the notion of the sauce, and by and by did taste it, and liked it mightily. After dinner, I did what I went for, which was to get his consent that Balty might hold his Muster-Master's place by deputy, in his new employment which I design for him, about the Storekeeper's accounts; which the Duke of York did grant me, and I was mightily glad of it. Home, and there I find Povy and W. Batelier, by appointment, met to talk of some merchandize of wine and linnen; but I do not like of their troubling my house to meet in, having no mind to their pretences of having their rendezvous here.

11th. Heard that the last night Colonel Middleton's wife[1] died, a woman I never saw since she come hither, having never been within their house since.

12th. To wait on the Duke of York, with the rest of us, at the Robes, where the Duke of York did tell us that the King would have us prepare a draught of the present administration of the Navy, and what it was in the late times, in order to his being able to distinguish between the good and the bad, which I shall do, but to do it well will give me a great deal of trouble. Here we showed him Sir

[1] See p. 99, *post*.

J. Minnes's propositions about balancing Storekeeper's accounts; and I did show him Hosier's, which did please him mightily, and he will have it showed the Council and King anon, to be put in practice. Thence to the Treasurer's; and I and Sir J. Minnes and Mr. Tippets down to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and there had a hot debate from Sir Thomas Clifford and my Lord Ashly, the latter of whom, I hear, is turning about as fast as he can to the Duke of Buckingham's side, being in danger, it seems, of being otherwise out of play, which would not be convenient for him, against Sir W. Coventry and Sir J. Duncomb, who did uphold our Office against an accusation of our Treasurers, who told the Lords that they found that we had run the King in debt £50,000, or more, more than the money appointed for the year would defray, which they declared like fools, and with design to hurt us, though the thing is in itself ridiculous. But my Lord Ashly and Clifford did most horribly cry out against the want of method in the Office. At last it came that it should be put in writing what they had to object; but I was devilish mad at it, to see us thus wounded by our own members. My wife and I to Hercules Pillars, and there dined; and there coming a Frenchman by with his shew, we did make him shew it us, which he did just as Lacy acts it, which made it mighty pleasant to me. Away, and to Dancre's, and there saw our picture of Greenwich in doing,[1] which is mighty pretty. Attended with Lord Brouncker the King and Council, about the proposition of balancing Storekeeper's accounts; and there presented Hosier's book, and it was mighty well resented[2] and approved of. So the Council being up, we to the Queene's side with the King and Duke of York: and the Duke of York did take me out to talk of our Treasurers, whom he is mighty angry with; and I perceive he is mighty desirous to bring

[1] See p. 78, *ante*.

[2] Resent, to take *well* or ill.—*Johnson*.

in as many good motions of profit and reformation in the Navy as he can, before the Treasurers do light upon them, they being desirous, it seems, to be thought the great reformers: and the Duke of York do well. But to my great joy he is mighty open to me in every thing; and by this means I know his whole mind, and shall be able to secure myself, if he stands. Here to-night I understand, by my Lord Brouncker, that at last it is concluded on by the King and Buckingham that my Lord of Ormond shall not hold his government of Ireland, which is a great stroke, to show the power of Buckingham and the poor spirit of the King, and little hold that any man can have of him. I and my wife called at my cosen Turner's, and there met our new cosen Pepys, Mrs. Dickenson, and Bab. and Betty come yesterday to town, poor girls, whom we have reason to love, and mighty glad we are to see them; and there staid a little, being also mightily pleased to see Betty Turner, who is now in town, and her brothers Charles and Will, being come from school to see their father, and there talked a while, and so home, and there Pelling hath got W. Pen's book against the Trinity.[1] I got my wife to read it to me; and I find it so well writ as, I think, it is too good for him ever to have writ it; and it is a serious sort of book, and not fit for every body to read.

14th. (Lord's-day.) Up, and by coach to Sir W. Coventry: and there he tells me he takes no care for any thing more than in the Treasury; and that, that being done, he goes to cards and other delights, as plays, and in the summer-time to bowles. But here he did show me two or three old books of the Navy, of my Lord Northumberland's[2] times, which he hath taken many good notes out of, for justifying the Duke of York and us, in many

[1] Entitled "The Sandy Foundation Shaken." It caused him to be imprisoned in the Tower.

[2] Algernon Percy, tenth Earl of Northumberland, Lord High Admiral to Charles I.

things, wherein, perhaps, precedents will be necessary to produce. Thence to White Hall, where the Duke of York expected me; and in his closet Wren and I. He did tell me how the King hath been acquainted with the Treasurers'[1] discourse at the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, the other day, and is dissatisfied with our running him in debt, which I removed: and he did carry me to the King, and I did satisfy him also; but his satisfaction is nothing worth, it being easily got, and easily removed; but I do purpose to put in writing that which shall make the Treasurers ashamed. But the Duke of York is horrid angry against them; and he hath cause, for they do work all they can to bring dishonour upon his management, as do plainly appear in all they do. Having done with the Duke of York, who do repose all in me, I with Mr. Wren to his chamber, to talk; where he observed, that these people are all of them a broken sort of people, that have not much to lose, and therefore will venture all to make their fortunes better: that Sir Thomas Osborne is a beggar, having 11 or £1200 a-year, but owes above £10,000. The Duke of Buckingham's condition is shortly this: that he hath about £19,600 a year, of which he pays away about £7000 a year in interest, about £2000 in fee-farm rents to the King, about £6000 in wages and pensions, and the rest to live upon, and pay taxes for the whole. Wren says, that for the Duke of York to stir in this matter, as his quality might justify, would but make all things worse, and that therefore he must bend, and suffer all, till time works it out: that he fears they will sacrifice the Church, and that the King will take any thing, and so he will hold up his head a little longer, and then break in pieces. But Sir W. Coventry did to-day mightily magnify my late Lord Treasurer, for a wise and solid, though infirm man: and, among other things, that when he hath said it was impossible in nature to find this

[1] Of the Navy.

or that sum of money; and my Lord Chancellor hath made sport of it, and told the King that when my Lord hath said it was impossible, yet he hath made shift to find it, and that was by Sir G. Carteret's getting credit, my Lord did once in his hearing say thus, which he magnifies as a great saying—that impossible would be found impossible at last; meaning that the King would run himself out, beyond all his credit and funds, and then we should too late find it impossible; which is, he says, now come to pass.

15th. Up, and with Tom to White Hall; and there at a Committee of Tangier, where a great instance of what a man may lose by the neglect of a friend: Povy never had such an opportunity of passing his accounts, the Duke of York being there, and everybody well disposed, and in expectation of them; but my Lord Ashly, on whom he relied, and for whose sake this day was pitched on, that he might be sure to be there, among the rest of his friends, staid too long, till the Duke of York and his company thought unfit to stay longer: and so the day lost, and God knows when he will have so good a one again, as long as he lives; and this was the man of the whole company that he hath made the most interest to gain, and now most depended upon him. To the plaisterer's, and there saw the figure of my face taken from the mould: and it is most admirably like, and I will have another made, before I take it away. To my cosin Turner's, where, having the last night been told by her that she had drawn me for her Valentine, I did this day call at the New Exchange, and bought her a pair of green silk stockings[1] and garters and shoe-strings, and two pair

[1] Pepys was perhaps induced to make this purchase for his cousin, in accordance with the taste of the Duke of York, who, in allusion to Lady Chesterfield's wearing green stockings, remarked—"*qu'il n'y avoit point de salut pour une jambe sans bas verds.*"—*Mémoires de Grammont.*"

of jessimy gloves, all coming to about 28*s.*, and did give them to her this noon. At the 'Change, I did at my bookseller's shop accidentally fall into talk with Sir Samuel Tuke[1] about trees, and Mr. Evelyn's garden; and I do find him, I think, a little conceited, but a man of very fine discourse as any I ever heard almost, which I was mighty glad of. After dinner, my wife and I endeavoured to make a visit to Ned Pickering; but he not at home, nor his lady; and therefore back again, and took up my cosin Turner, and to my cosin Roger's lodgings, and there find him pretty well again, and his wife mighty kind and merry, and did make mighty much of us, and I believe he is married to a very good woman. Here was also Bab. and Betty, who have not their clothes yet, and therefore cannot go out, otherwise I would have had them abroad to-morrow; but the poor girls mighty kind to us, and we must show them kindness also. In Suffolk Street lives Moll Davies; and we did see her coach come for her to her door, a mighty pretty fine coach. To White Hall; and there, by means of Mr. Cooling, did get into the play, the only one we have seen this winter: it was "The Five Hours' Adventure:" but I sat so far I could not hear well, nor was there any pretty woman that I did see, but my wife, who sat in my Lady Fox's pew,[2] with her. The house very full; and late

[1] Sir Samuel Tuke, of Cressing Temple, Essex, Bart., was a Colonel in Charles the First's army, and cousin to John Evelyn. He died at Somerset House, January, 1673. We have seen that he was the translator of "The Adventures of Five Hours." He was a Roman Catholic: and there is a life of him in Dod's Church History.

[2] We may suppose that pews were by no means common at this time, within consecrated walls, from the word being applied indifferently by Pepys to a box in a place of amusement, and two days afterwards to a seat at Church. It would appear, from other authorities, that between 1646 and 1660, scarcely any pews had been erected; and Sir C. Wren is known to have objected to their introduction into his London churches.

before done, so that it was past eleven before we got home.

16th. Home, where I find some things of W. Batelier's come out of France, among which some clothes for my wife, wherein she is likely to lead me to the expence of so much money as vexed me; but I seemed so, more than I at this time was, only to prevent her taking too much. But I was mightily pleased with another picture of the King of France's head, of Nanteuil's, bigger than the other which he brought over: and so to the Office, where busy all the afternoon, though my eyes mighty bad with the light of the candles last night, which was so great as to make my eyes sore all this day, and do teach me, by a manifest experiment, that it is only too much light that do make my eyes sore. Nevertheless, with the help of my tube, and being desirous of easing my mind of five or six days journall, I did venture to write it down from ever since this day se'nnight, and I think without hurting my eyes any more than they were before, which was very much, and so home to supper and to bed.

17th. The King dining yesterday at the Dutch Embassador's, after dinner they drank and were pretty merry; and, among the rest of the King's company, there was that worthy fellow my Lord of Rochester, and Tom Killigrew, whose mirth and raillery offended the former so much, that he did give Tom Killigrew a box on the ear in the King's presence, which do give much offence to the people here at Court, to see how cheap the King makes himself, and the more, for that the King hath not only passed by the thing, and pardoned it to Rochester already, but this very morning the King did publickly walk up and down, and Rochester I saw with him as free as ever, to the King's everlasting shame, to have so idle a rogue his companion. How Tom Killigrew takes it, I do not hear. I do also this day hear that my Lord Privy Seale do accept to go Lieutenant into Ireland; but whether it be true or

no, I cannot tell. To Colonel Middleton's, to the burial of his wife,[1] where we were all invited, and much more company, and had each of us a ring: and so towards evening to our Church, where there was a sermon preached by Mills, and so home. Comes Castle to me, to desire me to go to Mr. Pedly this night, he being to go out of town to-morrow morning, which I, therefore, did, by hackney-coach, first going to White Hall to meet with Sir W. Coventry, but missed him. But here I had a pleasant rencontre of a lady in mourning, that, by the little light I had, seemed handsome. I passing by her, did observe she looked back again and again upon me, I suffering her to go before, and it being now duske. She went into the little passage towards the Privy Water-Gate, and I followed, but missed her; but coming back again, I observed she returned, and went to go out of the Court. I followed her, and took occasion, in the new passage now built, where the walk is to be, to take her by the hand, to lead her through, which she willingly accepted, and I led her to the Great Gate, and there left her, she telling me, of her own accord, that she was going as far as Charing Cross; but my boy was at the Gate, and so I durst not go out with her. So to Lincoln's Inn, where to Mr. Pedly, with whom I spoke, and did my business presently: and I find him a man of good language, and mighty civil, and I believe very upright: and so home, where W. Batelier was, and supped with us, and I did reckon this night what I owed him; and I do find that the things my wife, of her own head, hath taken, together with my own, which comes not to above £5, comes to about £22. But it is the last, and so I am the better contented; and they are things

[1] "Buried, *Mrs. Elizabeth*, wife of Colonel Thomas Midleton."—*Register of St. Olave's, Hart Street.* This entry shows that Mrs. *Jane* Middleton, the "fine lady" whom Pepys admired among the Court beauties, (see vol. ii., p. 155), could not have been the Colonel's wife, as erroneously stated in the note.

that are not trifles, but clothes, gloves, shoes, hoods, &c. So, after supper, to bed. At Church there was my Lord Brouncker and Mrs. Williams in our pew, the first time they were ever there, or that I knew that either of them would go to Church.

18th. Expecting to have this day seen Bab. and Betty Pepys here, but they come not; and so after dinner my wife and I to the Duke of York's house, to a play, and there saw "The Mad Lover," which do not please me so well as it used to do, only Betterton's part still pleases me. But here who should we have come to us but Bab. and Betty and Talbot, the first play they were yet at; and going to see us, and hearing by my boy, whom I sent to them, that we were here, they come to us hither, and happened all of us to sit by my cosin Turner and The. We carried them home first, and then took Bab. and Betty to our house, where they lay and supped, and pretty merry, and very fine with their new clothes, and good comely girls they are enough, and very glad I am of their being with us, though I would very well have been contented to be without the charge. So they to bed.

19th. Up, and after seeing the girls, who lodged in our bed, with their maid Martha, who hath been their father's maid these twenty years and more, I to the Office, while the young people went to see Bedlam.[1] This morning, among other things, talking with Sir W. Coventry, I did propose to him my putting into serve in Parliament, if there should, as the world begins to expect, be a new one chose: he likes it mightily, both for the King's and Service's sake, and the Duke of York's, and will propound it to the Duke of York: and I confess, if there be one, I would be glad to be in.

20th. After dinner with my wife and my two girls to the Duke of York's house, and there saw "The Gratefull Servant,"[2] a pretty good play, and which I have forgot

[1] Which then occupied the south side of Moorfields.

[2] A Comedy, by James Shirley.

that ever I did see. And thence with them to Mrs. Grotier's, the Queen's tire-woman, for a pair of locks for my wife; she is a oldish French woman, but with a pretty hand as most I have seen; and so home.

21st. With my wife and two girls to Church, they very fine; and so home, where comes my cosin Roger and his wife, I having sent for them, to dine with us, and there comes in by chance also Mr. Sheply, who is come to town with my Lady Paulina, who is desperately sick, and is gone to Chelsy, to the old house where my Lord himself was once sick, where I doubt my Lord means to visit her, more for young Mrs. Beck's sake, than for her's. Here we dined with W. Batelier, and W. Hewer with us, these two girls making it necessary that they be always with us, for I am not company light enough to be always merry with them: and so sat talking all the afternoon, and then Sheply went away first, and then my cosin Roger and his wife.

22nd. After dinner, with my wife, in her morning-gown, and the two girls dressed, to Unthanke's where my wife dresses herself, having her gown this day laced, and a new petticoat; and so is indeed very fine. In the evening to White Hall, and there did without much trouble get into the playhouse, finding a good place among the Ladies of Honour, and all of us sitting in the pit; and then by and by came the King and Queene, and they began "Bartholomew Fair." But I like no play here so well as at the common playhouse; besides that, my eyes being very ill since last Sunday and this day se'nnight, I was in mighty pain to defend myself now from the light of the candles. After the play done, we met with W. Batelier and W. Hewer and Talbot Pepys, and they followed us in a hackney-coach: and we all stopped at Hercules' Pillars; and there I did give them the best supper I could, and pretty merry; and so home between eleven and twelve at night.

23rd. Up: and to the Office, where all the morning, and then home, and put a mouthfull of victuals in my mouth; and by a hackney-coach followed my wife and the girls, who are gone by eleven o'clock, thinking to have seen a new play at the Duke of York's house. But I do find them staying at my tailor's, the play not being to-day, and therefore to Westminster Abbey, and there did see all the tombs very finely, having one with us alone, there being other company this day to see the tombs, it being Shrove Tuesday; and here we did see, by particular favour, the body of Queen Katherine of Valois; and I had the upper part of her body in my hands, and I did kiss her mouth, reflecting upon it that I did kiss a queene, and that this was my birth-day, thirty-six years old, that I did kiss a Queene.[1] But here this man, who seems to understand well, tells me that the saying is not true that she was never buried, for she was buried; only, when Henry the Seventh built his chapel, she was taken up and laid in this wooden coffin; but I did there see that, in it, the body was buried

[1] Pepys's attachment to the fair sex extended even to a dead Queen. The record of this royal salute on his natal day is very characteristic. The story told him in Westminster Abbey appears to have been correct; for Neale informs us, ("History of Westminster Abbey," vol. ii., p. 88) that near the south side of Henry the Fifth's tomb, there was formerly a wooden chest, or coffin, wherein part of the skeleton and parched body of Katherine de Valois, his Queen, (from the waist upwards) was to be seen. She was interred in January, 1457, in the Chapel of Our Lady, at the east end of this Church; but when that building was pulled down by her grandson, Henry the Seventh, her coffin was found to be decayed, and her body was taken up, and placed in a chest, near her first husband's tomb. "There," says Dart, "it hath ever since continued to be seen, the bones being firmly united, and thinly clothed with flesh, like scrapings of tanned leather." This awful spectacle of frail mortality was at length removed from the public gaze, into St. Nicholas's Chapel, and finally deposited under the monument of Sir George Villiers, when the vault was made for the remains of Elizabeth Percy, Duchess of Northumberland, in December, 1776.

in a leaden one, which remains under the body to this day. Thence to the Duke of York's playhouse, and there, finding the play begun, we homeward to the Glass-House,[1] and there shewed my cosins the making of glass, and had several things made with great content; and, among others, I had one or two singing-glasses made, which make an echo to the voice, the first that ever I saw; but so thin, that the very breath broke one or two of them. Thence to Mr. Batelier's, where we supped, and had a good supper, and here was Mr. Pembleton: and after supper some fiddles, and so to dance; but my eyes were so out of order, that I had little pleasure this night at all, though I was glad to see the rest merry.

24th. I to the Office, and at night my wife sends for me to W. Hewer's lodging, where I find two best chambers of his so finely furnished, and all so rich and neat, that I was mightily pleased with him and them: and here only my wife, and I, and the two girls, and had a mighty neat dish of custards and tarts, and good drink and talk. And so away home to bed, with infinite content at this his treat; for it was mighty pretty, and everything mighty rich.

25th. To the Duke of York's house, and there before one, but the house infinite full, where, by and by, the King and Court come, it being a new play, or an old one new vamped, by Shadwell, called "The Royall Shepherdesse;"[2] but the silliest for words and design, and everything, that ever I saw in my whole life, there being nothing in the world pleasing in it, but a good martiall dance of pikemen, where Harris and another do handle their pikes in a dance to admiration; but I was never less satisfied with a play in my life.

26th. To the King's playhouse, and saw "The Faithfull

[1] In or near Drury Lane. The name of Glasshouse Yard still remains.

[2] A Tragi-comedy, altered by Thomas Shadwell from a Comedy written by Mr. Fountain, called "The Rewards of Virtue."

Shepherdesse." But, Lord! what an empty house, there not being, as I could tell the people, so many as to make up above £10 in the whole house! The being of a new play at the other house, I suppose, being the cause, though it be so silly a pla ythat I wonder how there should be enough people to go thither two days together, and not leave more to fill this house. The emptiness of the house took away our pleasure a great deal, though I liked it the better; for I plainly discern the musick is the better, by how much the house the emptier. Thence home, and again to W. Hewer's, and had a pretty little treat, and spent an hour or two, my voice being wholly taken away with my cold, and so home and to bed.

28th. (Lord's-day.) Up, and got my wife to read to me a copy of what the Surveyor offered to the Duke of York on Friday, he himself putting it into my hands to read; but, Lord! it is a poor, silly thing ever to think to bring it in practice, in the King's Navy. It is to have the Captains to account for all stores and victuals; but upon so silly grounds, to my thinking, and ignorance of the present instructions of Officers, that I am ashamed to hear it. However, I do take a copy of it, for my future use and answering; and so to Church, where, God forgive me! I did most of the time gaze on the fine milliner's wife, in Fenchurch Street, who was at our Church to-day; and so home to dinner. After dinner to write down my Journall; and then abroad by coach with my cosins, to their father's, where we are kindly received, but he is in great pain for his man Arthur, who, he fears, is now dead, having been desperate sick, and speaks so much of him that my cosen, his wife, and I, did make mirth of it, and call him Arthur O'Bradly.[1] After staying here a little, and eat and drank, and she give me some gingerbread made in cakes, like chocolate, very good, made by a friend, I carried him and

[1] This was an allusion to the old and popular ballad of Arthur O'Bradley mentioned in note in vol. i., p. 416.

her to my cosin Turner's, where we staid, expecting her coming from Church; but she coming not, I went to her husband's chamber in the Temple, and thence fetched her. After talking there a while, and agreeing to be all merry at my house on Tuesday next, I away home; and there spent the evening talking and reading, with my wife and Mr. Pelling.

March 1st. I do hear that my Lady Paulina Montagu did die yesterday; at which I went to my Lord's lodgings, but he is shut up with sorrow, and so not to be spoken with: and therefore I returned, and to Westminster Hall, where I have not been, I think, in some months. And here the Hall was very full, the King having, by Commission to some Lords this day, prorogued the Parliament till the 19th of October next: at which I am glad, hoping to have time to go over to France this year. But I was most of all surprised this morning by my Lord Bellassis, who, by appointment, met me at Auditor Wood's, at the Temple, and tells me of a duell designed between the Duke of Buckingham and my Lord Halifax, or Sir W. Coventry; the challenge being carried by Harry Saville, but prevented by my Lord Arlington, and the King told of it; and this was all the discourse at Court this day. But I, meeting Sir W. Coventry in the Duke of York's chamber, he would not own it to me, but told me he was a man of too much peace to meddle with fighting, and so it rested: but the talk is full in the town of the business. Thence, having walked some turns with my cosen Pepys, and most people, by their discourse, believing that this Parliament will never sit more, I away to several places to look after things against to-morrow's feast, and so home to dinner; and thence, after noon, my wife and I out by hackney-coach, and spent the afternoon in several places, doing several things at the 'Change and elsewhere against to-morrow; and, among others, I did bring home a piece of my face cast in plaister, for to make a vizard upon, for my eyes.

And so home, where W. Batelier come, and sat with us; and there, after many doubts, did resolve to go on with our feast and dancing to-morrow; and so, after supper, left the maids to make clean the house, and to lay the cloth and other things against to-morrow, and so to bed.

2nd. Home, and there I find my company come, namely, Madam Turner, Dike, The., and Betty Turner, and Mr. Bellwood, formerly their father's clerk, but now set up for himself—a conceited, silly fellow, but one they make mightily of—my cosen Roger Pepys, and his wife, and two daughters. I had a noble dinner for them, as I almost ever had, and mighty merry, and particularly myself pleased with looking on Betty Turner, who is mighty pretty. After dinner, we fell one to one talk, and another to another, and looking over my house, and closet, and things; and The. Turner to write a letter to a lady in the country, in which I did, now and then, put in half a dozen words, and sometimes five or six lines, and then she as much, and made up a long and good letter, she being mighty witty really, though troublesome-humoured with it. And thus till night, that our musick come, and the Office ready and candles, and also W. Batelier and his sister Susan come, and also Will. Howe and two gentlemen more, strangers, which, at my request yesterday, he did bring to dance, called Mr. Ireton and Mr. Starkey. We fell to dancing, and continued, only with intermission for a good supper, till two in the morning, the musick being Greeting, and another most excellent violin, and theorbo, the best in town. And so with mighty mirth and pleased with their dancing of jigs, afterwards several of them, and, among others, Betty Turner, who did it mighty prettily; and, lastly, W. Batelier's "Blackmore and Blackmore Mad;" and then to a country-dance again, and so broke up with extraordinary pleasure, as being one of the days and nights of my life spent with the greatest content; and that which I can but hope to repeat

again a few times in my whole life. This done, we parted, the strangers home, and I did lodge my cosin Pepys and his wife in our blue chamber. My cosin Turner, her sister, and The., in our best chamber; Bab., Betty, and Betty Turner, in our own chamber; and myself and my wife in the maid's bed, which is very good. Our maids in the coachman's bed; the coachman with the boy in his settle-bed,[1] and Tom where he uses to lie. And so I did, to my great content, lodge at once in my house, with the greatest ease, fifteen, and eight of them strangers of quality. My wife this day put on first her French gown, called a Sac,[2] which becomes her very well, brought her over by W. Batelier.

3rd. To my guests, and got them to breakfast, and then parted by coaches; and I did, in mine, carry my she-cosin Pepys and her daughters home, and there left them. To White Hall, where W. Hewer met me; and he and I took a turn in St. James's Park, and in the Mall did meet Sir W. Coventry and Sir J. Duncomb, and did speak with them about some business before the Lords of the Treasury; but I did find them more than usually busy, though I knew not then the reason of it, but I guessed it by what followed next day. Thence to Dancre's, the painter's, and there saw my picture of Greenwich, finished to my very good content, though this manner of distemper do make the figures not so pleasing as in oyle. To the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw an old play, the first time acted these forty years, called "The Lady's Tryall,"[3] acted only by the young people of the house; but the house very full. To the New Exchange, and so called at my cosen Turner's; and there, meeting Mr. Bellwood, did hear how my Lord Mayor,[4] being invited this

[1] A folding bed.

[2] Sacque—which remained in fashion till a much later date.

[3] A Tragedy, by John Ford.

[4] Sir William Peake, clothworker.

day to dinner at the Reader's at the Temple, and endeavouring to carry his sword up,[1] the students did pull it down, and forced him to go and stay all the day in a private Councillor's chamber, until the Reader himself could get the young gentlemen to dinner; and then my Lord Mayor did retreat out of the Temple by stealth, with his sword up. This do make great heat among the students; and my Lord Mayor did send to the King, and also I hear that Sir Richard Browne did cause the drums to beat for the Train-bands; but all is over, only I hear that the students do resolve to try the Charter of the City.[2] So we home, and betimes to bed, and slept well all night.

4th. To White Hall, where in the first Court I did meet Sir Jeremy Smith, who did tell me that Sir W. Coventry was just now sent to the Tower, about the business of his challenging the Duke of Buckingham, and so was also Harry Saville[3] to the Gate-house;[4] which, as he is a gentleman, and of the Duke of York's bedchamber, I heard afterwards that the Duke of York is mightily incensed at, and do appear very high to the King that he might not be sent thither, but to the Tower, this being done only in contempt to him. This news of Sir W. Coventry did strike me to the heart, and with this reason, for by this and my Lord of Ormond's business I do doubt that the Duke of Buckingham will be so flushed, that he will not stop at any thing, but be forced to do any thing now, as thinking it not safe to end here; and, Sir W. Coventry being gone, the King will have no good Coun-

[1] As a symbol of his authority.

[2] For some particulars of this dispute with the City, see the Addenda.

[3] Henry Savile was a younger son of Sir William Savile, Bart., of Thornhill, in Yorkshire, by Anne, one of the daughters of Thomas, first Lord Coventry, and sister to Sir William Coventry. He became Vice-Chamberlain to Charles II., and served in Parliament for Newark: and died *s. p.*

[4] At Westminster.

sellor left, nor the Duke of York any sure friend to stick to him; nor any good man will remain to advise what is good. This, therefore, do heartily trouble me as any thing that ever I heard. So up into the House, and met with several people; but the Committee did not meet: and the whole House I find full of this business of Sir W. Coventry's, and most men very sensible of the cause and effects of it. So, meeting with my Lord Bellassis, he told me the particulars of this matter; that it arises about a quarrel which Sir W. Coventry had with the Duke of Buckingham, about a design between the Duke and Sir Robert Howard to bring him into a play at the King's house, which W. Coventry not enduring, did by H. Saville send a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, that he had a desire to speak with him. Upon which, the Duke of Buckingham did bid Holmes, his champion ever since my Lord Shrewsbury's business, go to him to do the business; but H. Saville would not tell it to any but himself, and therefore did go presently to the Duke of Buckingham, and told him that his uncle Coventry was a person of honour, and was sensible of his Grace's liberty taken of abusing him, and that he had a desire of satisfaction, and would fight with him. But that here they were interrupted by my Lord Chamberlain's coming in, who was commanded to go to bid the Duke of Buckingham to come to the King, Holmes having discovered it. He told me that the King did last night, at the Council, ask the Duke of Buckingham, upon his honour, whether he had received any challenge from W. Coventry? which he confessed that he had; and then the King, asking W. Coventry, he told him that he did not owne what the Duke of Buckingham had said, though it was not fit for him to give him a direct contradiction. But, being by the King put upon declaring the truth upon his honour, he answered that he had understood that many hard questions had upon this business been moved to some lawyers, and that therefore he was

unwilling to declare any thing that might, from his own mouth, render him obnoxious to his Majesty's displeasure, and, therefore, prayed to be excused: which the King did think fit to interpret to be a confession, and so gave warrant that night for his commitment to the Tower. Being very much troubled at this, I away by coach homewards, and directly to the Tower, where I find him in one Mr. Bennet's house, son to Major Bayly, one of the Officers of the Ordnance, in the Bricke Tower:[1] where I find him busy with my Lord Halifax and his brother; so I would not stay to interrupt them, but only to give him comfort, and offer my service to him, which he kindly and cheerfully received, only owning his being troubled for the King his master's displeasure, which, I suppose, is the ordinary form and will of persons in this condition. And so I parted, with great content, that I had so earlily seen him there; and so going out, did meet Sir Jer. Smith going to meet me, who had newly been with Sir W. Coventry. And so he and I by water to Redriffe, and so walked to Deptford, where I have not been, I think, these twelve months: and there to the Treasurer's house,[2] where the Duke of York is, and his Duchesse; and there we find them at dinner in the great room, unhung; and there was with them my Lady Duchesse of Monmouth, the Countess of Falmouth, Castlemaine, Henrietta Hide,[3] (my Lady Hinchingbroke's sister) and my Lady Peterborough. And after dinner Sir Jer. Smith and I were invited down to dinner with some of the Maids of Honour, namely, Mrs. Ogle, Blake, and Howard,[4] which did me good to have the honour to dine with, and look on them; and the Mother

[1] "The Brick Tower, by the Armory, the Master of the Ordnance' lodging;" so described in a paper of the 16th March, 1641.

[2] See it marked in the plan, in Evelyn's Diary.

[3] Henrietta, fifth daughter to the Earl of Burlington, married Laurence Hyde, afterwards created Earl of Rochester.

[4] Dorothy Howard.

of the Maids, and Mrs. Howard,[1] the mother of the Maid of Honour of that name, and the Duke's housekeeper here. Here was also Monsieur Blancfort, Sir Richard Powell,[2] Colonel Villers,[3] Sir Jonathan Trelawny,[4] and others. And here drank most excellent, and great variety, and plenty of wines, more than I have drank, at once, these seven years, but yet did me no great hurt. Having dined very merrily, and understanding by Blancfort how angry the Duke of York was, about their offering to send Saville to the Gate-house, among the rogues; and then, observing how this company, both the ladies and all, are of a gang, and did drink a health to the union of the two brothers, and talking of others as their enemies, they parted, and so we up; and there I did find the Duke of York and Duchesse with all the great ladies sitting upon a carpet, on the ground, there being no chairs, playing at "I love my love with an A, because he is so and so: and I hate him with an A, because of this and that:" and some of them, but particularly the Duchesse herself, and my Lady Castlemaine, were very witty. This done, they took barge, and I with Sir J. Smith to Captain Cox's; and there to talk, and left them and other company to drink, while I

[1] Elizabeth, daughter of Lowthiel, Lord Dundas, wife of William Howard, fourth son of the first Earl of Berkshire. Her grandson, Henry Bowes Howard, son of Craven Howard, afterwards succeeded as fourth Earl, and married his cousin Catherine, daughter of Colonel Gordon and Dorothy Howard, here mentioned. Mrs. Howard's son, Craven Howard, married Anne Ogle, who was at a later period in the Queen's household. Mrs. Blake was Margaret, fourth daughter of Colonel Blague, successively Maid of Honour to the Duchess of York and the Queen, who became the wife of Sidney Godolphin.

[2] Sir Richard Powle, of Shottesbrooke, Berks, Master of the Horse to the Duchess of York.

[3] Edward Villiers, Master of the Robes, and Groom of the Bedchamber to the Duke of York. He was afterwards knighted, and is the direct ancestor of the Earls of Jersey.

[4] The second baronet of his family, and father of the Bishop of Winchester, of the same names.

slunk out to Bagwell's; and there saw her, and her mother, and our late maid Nell, who cried for joy to see me. So to Cox's, and thence walked with Sir J. Smith back to Redriffe; and so by water home, and there my wife mighty angry for my absence, and fell mightily out, but not being certain of any thing, but thinks only that Pierce or Knipp was there, and did ask me, and, I perceive, the boy, many questions. But I did answer her; and so, after much ado, did go to bed, and lie quiet all night; but she had another bout with me in the morning, but I did make shift to quiet her, but yet she was not fully satisfied, poor wretch! in her mind, and thinks much at my taking so much pleasure without her, which, indeed, is a fault, though I did not design or foresee it when I went.

5th. After dinner I to the Tower, where I find Sir W. Coventry with abundance of company with him: and, after sitting awhile, and hearing some merry discourse, and, among others, of Mr. Brouncker's being this day summoned to Sir William Morton,[1] one of the Judges, to give in security for his good behaviour, upon his words the other day to Sir John Morton,[2] a Parliament-man, at White Hall, who had heretofore spoke very highly against Brouncker in the House, I away, and to Aldgate. Walked forward towards White Chapel, till my wife overtook me with the coach, it being a mighty fine afternoon; and there we went the first time out of town with our coach and horses, and went as far as Bow, the Spring beginning a little now to appear, though the way be dirty; and so, with great pleasure, with the fore part of our coach up, we spent the afternoon. And so in the evening home, and there busy at the Office a while, and so to bed, mightily pleased with being at peace with my poor wife, and with

[1] Made a Justice of the King's Bench 1665. Ob. 1672.

[2] Sir John Morton, of Milborn St. Andrew, Dorset, the second baronet of his family, then serving as burgess for Poole, and afterwards for Melcombe Regis. He died in 1698: *æt.* 71, *M.I.*

the pleasure we may hope to have with our coach this summer, when the weather comes to be good.

6th. Before the Office, I stepped to Sir W. Coventry at the Tower, and there had a great deal of discourse with him; among others, of the King's putting him out of the Council yesterday, with which he is well contented, as with what else they can strip him of, he telling me, and so hath long done, that he is weary and surfeited of business; but he joins with me in his fears that all will go to naught, as matters are now managed. He told me the matter of the play that was intended for his abuse, wherein they foolishly and sillily bring in two tables like that which he hath made, with a round hole in the middle, in his closet, to turn himself in;[1] and he is to be in one of them as master, and Sir J. Duncomb in the other, as his man or imitator: and their discourse in those tables about the disposing of their books and papers very foolish. But that, that he is offended with, is his being made so contemptible, as that any should dare to make a gentleman a subject for the mirth of the world: and that therefore he had told Tom Killigrew that he should tell his actors, whoever they were, that did offer at any thing like representing him, that he would not complain to my Lord Chamberlain, which was too weak, nor get him beaten, as Sir Charles Sedley is said to have done; but that he would cause his nose to be cut.[2] He told me how that the Duke of Buckingham did himself, some time since, desire to join with him, of all men in England, and did bid him propound to himself to be Chief Minister of State, saying that he would

[1] See Diary vol. iii., p. 475, where Sir W. Coventry's round table is described.

[2] It is painful to find a person of Sir William Coventry's rank and station entertaining so cowardly a mode of revenging himself; and it is very remarkable that, in little more than a year afterwards, his nephew, Sir John Coventry, was maimed in the very same way, his nose having been slit to the bone by a party of assassins hired for the purpose: see note to vol. iii., p. 173.

bring it about, but that he refused to have any thing to do with any faction; and that the Duke of Buckingham did, within these few days, say that, of all men in England, he would have chosen Sir W. Coventry to have joined entire with. He tells me that he fears their prevailing against the Duke of York; and that their violence will force them to it, as being already beyond his pardon. He repeated to me many examples of challengings of Privy-Councillors and others; but never any proceeded against, with that severity which he is, it never amounting with others to more than a little confinement. He tells me of his being weary of the Treasury, and of the folly, ambition, and desire of popularity of Sir Thomas Clifford; and yet the rudeness of his tongue and passions when angry. This day my wife made it appear to me that my late entertainment this week cost me above £12, an expence which I am almost ashamed of, though it is but once in a great while, and is the end for which, in the most part, we live, to have such a merry day once or twice in a man's life.

7th. (Lord's-day.) To the Tower, to see Sir W. Coventry, who had H. Jermin and a great many more with him, and more, while I was there, came in; so that I do hear that there was not less than sixty coaches there yesterday, and the other day; which I hear also that there is great exception taken at, by the King and the Duke of Buckingham, but it cannot be helped. To Suffolk Street, to see my cosin Pepys, but neither the old nor young at home. I to White Hall, and there hear that there are letters come from Sir Thomas Allen, that he hath made some kind of peace with Argier; upon which the King and Duke of York, being to go out of town to-morrow, are met at my Lord Arlington's: so I there, and by Mr. Wren was desired to stay to see if there were occasion for their speaking with me, which I did, walking without, with Charles Porter,[1] talking of a great many things: and I perceive

[1] Solicitor to the Duke of York's Household, or rather Revenue.

all the world is against the Duke of Buckingham's acting thus high, and do prophesy nothing but ruin from it. But he do well observe that the Church lands cannot certainly come to much, if the King shall be persuaded to take them, they being leased out for long leases. By and by, after two hours' stay, the Council rose, having, as Wren tells me, resolved upon sending six ships to the Streights forthwith, not being contented with the peace upon the terms they demand; which are, that all our ships, where any Turks or Moores shall be found slaves, shall be prizes; which will imply that they must be searched. I hear that to-morrow the King and Duke of York set out for Newmarket, by three in the morning, to some foot and horse-races; to be abroad ten or twelve days. So I away, without seeing the Duke of York; but Mr. Wren showed me the order of Council about the balancing the Storekeeper's accounts, which passed the Council in the very terms I drew it, only I did put in my name as he that presented the book of Hosier's preparing, and that is left out—I mean, my name; which is no great matter.

8th. To White Hall, from whence the King and the Duke of York went by three in the morning, and had the misfortune to be overset with the Duke of York, the Duke of Monmouth, and the Prince,[1] at the King's Gate[2] in Holborne; and the King all dirty, but no hurt. How it come to pass I know not, but only it was dark, and the torches did not, they say, light the coach as they should do. I thought this morning to have seen my Lord Sandwich before he went out of town, but I came half an hour too late; which troubles me, I having not seen him

[1] Rupert.

[2] Kingsgate Street stands to the south-east of Bloomsbury Square. In the reign of James I., it was a mere country lane, with a barred gate at its entrance, which, from that monarch's usually passing through it, on his way to Theobalds, received the denomination of King's Gate.

since my Lady Pall died. W. Hewer and I to the Harp-and-Ball, to drink my morning draught; and there met with King, the Parliament-man, with whom I had some impertinent talk. And so to the Privy Seal office, to examine what records I could find there, for my help in the great business I am put upon, of defending the present constitution of the Navy; but there could not have liberty without order from him that is in present waiting, Mr. Bickerstaffe, who is out of town. Met Mr. Moore, and I find him the same discontented poor man as ever. He tells me that Mr. Sheply is upon being turned away from my Lord's family, and another sent down, which I am sorry for; but his age and good fellowship have almost made him fit for nothing. With my wife to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Mocke Astrologer," which I have often seen, and but an ordinary play; and so to my cosin Turner's, where we met Roger Pepys, his wife, and two daughters, and then home. There my wife to read to me, my eyes being sensibly hurt by the two great lights of the playhouse.

9th. Up, and to the Tower; and there find Sir W. Coventry alone, writing down his journall, which, he tells me, he now keeps of the material things; upon which I told him, and he is the only man I ever told it to, I think, that I kept it most strictly these eight or ten years; and I am sorry almost that I told it him, it not being necessary, nor may be convenient, to have it known. Here he showed me the petition he had sent to the King by my Lord Keeper, which was not to desire any admittance to employment, but submitting himself therein humbly to his Majesty; but prayed the removal of his displeasure, and that he might be set free. He tells me that my Lord Keeper did acquaint the King with the substance of it, not showing him the petition; who answered, that he was disposing of his employments, and when that was done, he might be led to discharge him: and this is what he expects, and what he seems to desire. But by this discourse he was pleased to

take occasion to show me and read to me his account, which he hath kept by him under his own hand, of all his discourse, and the King's answers to him, upon the great business of my Lord Clarendon, and how he had first moved the Duke of York with it twice, at good distance, one after another, but without success; showing me thereby the simplicity and reasons of his so doing, and the manner of it; and the King's accepting it, telling him that he was not satisfied in his management, and did discover some dissatisfaction against him for his opposing the laying aside of my Lord Treasurer, at Oxford, which was a secret the King had not discovered. And really I was mighty proud to be privy to this great transaction, it giving me great conviction of the noble nature and ends of Sir W. Coventry in it, and considerations in general of the consequences of great men's actions, and the uncertainty of their estates, and other very serious considerations. To the Office, where we sat all the morning, and after dinner by coach to my cosen Turner's, thinking to have taken up the young ladies; but The. was let blood to-day; and so my wife and I towards the King's playhouse, and by the way found Betty Turner, and Bab., and Betty Pepys staying for us; and so took them all to see "Claricilla," which do not please me almost at all, though there are some good things in it. And so to my cosin Turner's, and there find my Lady Mordaunt, and her sister Johnson;[1] and by and by comes in a gentleman, Mr. Overbury, a pleasant man, who plays most excellently on the flagelette, a little one, that sounded as low as one of mine, and mighty pretty. Hence with my wife, and Bab., and Betty Pepys, and W. Hewer, whom I carried all this day with me, to my cosin Stradwick's, where I have not been ever since my brother Tom died, there being some difference between my father and them, upon the account of my cosin Scott; and I glad of this opportunity of seeing them, they being good and

[1] Her maiden sister: see note in vol. ii., p. 460.

substantial people, and kind. Here met my cosin Roger and his wife, and my cosin Turner, and here, which I never did before, I drank a glass, of a pint, I believe, at one draught, of the juice of oranges, of whose peel they make comfits; and here they drink the juice as wine, with sugar, and it is very fine drink; but, it being new, I was doubtful whether it might not do me hurt. Having staid awhile, my wife and I back, with my cosen Turner, &c., to her house. There we took our leaves of my cosin Pepys, who goes with his wife and two daughters for Impington to-morrow. They are very good people, and people I love, and am obliged to, and shall have great pleasure in their friendship, and particularly in her's, she being an understanding and good woman.

10th. By hackney-coach to Auditor Beal's Office, in Holborne, to look for records of the Navy, but he was out of the way, and so forced to go next to White Hall, to the Privy Seal; and, after staying a little there, then to Westminster, where, at the Exchequer, I met with Mr. Newport and Major Halsey; and, after doing a little business with Mr. Burges, we by water to White Hall, where I made a little stop: and so with them by coach to Temple Bar, where, at the Sugar Loaf, we dined; and there comes a companion of their's, Colonel Vernon, I think, they called him; a merry good fellow, and one that was very plain in cursing the Duke of Buckingham, and discoursing of his designs to ruin us, and that ruin must follow his counsels, and that we are an undone people. To which the others concurred, but not so plain, but all vexed at Sir W. Coventry's being laid aside: but Vernon is concerned, I perceive, for my Lord Ormond's being laid aside; but their company, being all old cavaliers, were very pleasant to hear how they swear and talk. But Halsey, to my content, tells me that my Lord Duke of Albemarle says that W. Coventry being gone, nothing will be well done at the Treasury, and I believe it; but they do all talk as that

Duncomb, upon some pretence or other, must follow him. We by water home, and there I find my cosen Turner and her two daughters come to see us; and there, after talking a little, I had my coach ready, and they going home, my wife and I out to White Chapel to take a little ayre, though yet the dirtiness of the road do prevent most of the pleasure, which we hoped to have from this tour. So home, and my wife to read to me till supper, and to bed.

11th. Up, and to Sir W. Coventry, to the Tower: who tells me that he hears that the Commission is gone down to the King, with a blank to fill, for his place in the Treasury: and he believes it will be filled with one of our Treasurers of the Navy, but which he knows not, but he believes it will be Osborne. We walked down to the Stone Walk, which is called, it seems, my Lord of Northumberland's walk, being paved by some one of that title, that was prisoner there: and at the end of it, there is a piece of iron upon the wall, with his armes upon it, and holes to put in a peg, for every turn they make upon that walk. So away to the Office, where busy all the morning, and so to dinner, and so very busy all the afternoon, at my Office, late; and then home tired, to supper, with content with my wife, and so to bed, she pleasing me, though I dare not own it, that she hath hired a chambermaid; but she, after many commendations, told me that she had one great fault, and that was, that she was very handsome, at which I made nothing, but let her go on; but many times to-night she took occasion to discourse of her handsomeness, and the danger she was in, by taking her, and that she did doubt yet whether it would be fit for her, to take her. But I did assure her of my resolution to have nothing to do with her maids, though in myself I was glad to have the content to have a handsome one to look on.

12th. With great content spent all the morning looking over the Navy accounts of several years, and the several patents of the Treasurers. W. Hewer and myself towards

Westminster; and there he carried me to Nott's, the famous bookbinder, that bound for my Lord Chancellor's library: and here I did take occasion for curiosity to bespeak a book to be bound, only that I might have one of his binding. To Graye's Inne: and, at the next door, at a cook's-shop of Howe's acquaintance, we bespoke dinner, it being now two o'clock; and in the meantime he carried us into Graye's Inne, to his chamber, where I never was before; and it is very pretty, and little, and neat, as he was always. And so, after a little stay, and looking over a book or two there, we carried a piece of my Lord Coke[1] with us, and to our dinner, where, after dinner, he read at my desire a chapter in my Lord Coke about perjury, wherein I did learn a good deal touching oaths, and so away to the Patent Office,[2] in Chancery Lane, where his brother Jacke, being newly broke by running in debt, and growing an idle rogue, he is forced to hide himself; and W. Howe do look after the Office. Here I did set a Clerk to look out some things for me in their books, while W. Hewer and I to the Crowne Office,[3] where we met with several good things that I most wanted, and did take short notes of the dockets, and so back to the Patent Office, and did the like there, and by candle-light ended. And so home, where, thinking to meet my wife with content, after my pains all this day, I find her in her closet, alone, in the dark, in a hot fit of railing against me: but, what with my high words, and slighting, I did at last bring her to very good and kind terms, poor heart!

13th. Up; and to the Tower, to see Sir W. Coventry, and with him talking of business of the Navy, all alone, an hour, he taking physic. And so away to the Office, where all the morning, and then home to dinner, with my people, and so to the Office again, and there all the afternoon till night, when comes, by mistake, my cosen Turner and her

[1] Coke's Institutes. [2] The Rolls.

[3] In the Temple, where it is still kept.

two daughters, which love such freaks, to eat some anchovies and ham of bacon with me, instead of noon, at dinner, when I expected them. But, however, I had done my business before they come, and so was in good humour enough to be with them, and so home to them to supper, being pleased to see Betty Turner, which hath something mighty pretty. But that which put me in good humour, both at noon and night, is the fancy that I am this day made a Captain of one of the King's ships, Mr. Wren having this day sent me the Duke of York's commission to be Captain of "The Jerzy," in order to my being of a Court-martiall for examining the loss of "The Defyance," and other things; which do give me occasion of much mirth, and may be of some use to me, at least I shall get a little money for the time I have it; it being designed that I must really be a Captain to be able to sit in this Court. They staid till about eight at night, and then away, and my wife to read to me, and then to bed in mighty good humour, but for my eyes.

14th. (Lord's-day.) With my wife to Church, where we heard a most excellent good sermon of Mr. Gifford's,[1] upon the righteousness of Scribes and Pharisees.

15th. Up, and by water with W. Hewer to the Temple; and thence to the Rolls, where I made enquiry for several rolls, and was soon informed in the manner of it: and so spent the whole morning with W. Hewer, he taking little notes in short-hand, while I hired a clerk there to read to me about twelve or more several rolls which I did call for: and it was great pleasure to me to see the method wherein their rolls are kept; that when the Master of the Office, one Mr. Case, do call for them, who is a man that I have heretofore known by coming to my Lord of Sandwich's, he did most readily turn to them. At noon they shut up; and W. Hewer and I did walk to the Cocke, at the end of

[1] George Gifford, A.M., appointed, in 1661, rector of St. Dunstan's in the East: ob. 1686—*Newcourt Rep. Eccl.*

Suffolke Street, where I never was, a great ordinary, mightily cried up, and there bespoke a pullet; which while dressing, he and I walked into St. James's Park, and thence back, and dined very handsome, with a good soup, and a pullet, for 4*s.* 6*d.* the whole. Thence back to the Rolls, and did a little more business: and so by water to White Hall, whither I went to speak with Mr. Williamson, that if he hath any papers relating to the Navy I might see them, which he promises me: and so by water home, with great content for what I have this day found, having got almost as much as I desire of the history of the Navy, from 1618 to 1642, when the King and Parliament fell out.

16th. Visited Sir W. Coventry at the Tower, and walked with him upon the Stone Walk, alone, till other company come to him, and had very good discourse with him. My wife and Jane gone abroad, and Tom, in order to their buying of things for their wedding, which, upon my discourse last night, is now resolved to be done, upon the 26th of this month, the day of my solemnity for my cutting of the stone, when my cosen Turner must be with us. My wife, therefore, not at dinner; and comes to me Mr. Evelyn of Deptford, a worthy good man, and dined with me, but a bad dinner; who is grieved for, and speaks openly to me his thoughts of, the times, and our ruin approaching; and all by the folly of the King. His business to me was about some ground of his, at Deptford,[1] next to the King's yard: and after dinner we parted. To Woolwich, where I saw, but did not go on board, my ship "The Jerzy," she lying at the wharf under repair. But my business was to speak with Ackworth, about some old things and passages in the Navy, for my information therein, in order to my great business now of stating the history of the Navy. This I did; and upon the whole do find that the late times, in all their management, were not more husbandly than we; and other things of good content to me. Thence

[1] A plan of the ground alluded to is given in Evelyn's Diary.

to Greenwich by water, and there landed at the King's house,[1] which goes on slow, but is very pretty. I to the Park, there to see the prospect of the hill, to judge of Dancre's picture, which he hath made thereof for me: and I do like it very well: and it is a very pretty place. Thence to Deptford, but staid not, Unthwayte being out of the way: and so home, and then to the King's Tavern, Morrice's, and staid till W. Hewer fetched his uncle Blackburne by appointment to me, to discourse of the business of the Navy in the late times; and he did do it, by giving me a most exact account in writing, of the several turns in the Admiralty and Navy, and of the persons employed therein, from the beginning of the King's leaving the Parliament, to his son's coming in, to my great content; and now I am fully informed in all I at present desire. We fell to other talk: and I find by him that the Bishops must certainly fall, and their hierarchy; these people[2] have got so much ground upon the King and kingdom as is not to be got again from them: and the Bishops do well deserve it. But it is all the talk, I find, that Dr. Wilkins, my friend, the Bishop of Chester, shall be removed to Winchester, and be Lord Treasurer.[3] Though this be foolish talk, yet I do gather that he is a mighty rising man, as being a Latitudinarian, and the Duke of Buckingham his great friend.

17th. Up, and by water to see Mr. Wren, and then Mr. Williamson, who did shew me the very original bookes of

[1] The old palace at Greenwich had just been pulled down, and a new building commenced by Charles II., only one wing of which was completed, at the expense of £36,000, under the auspices of Webb, Inigo Jones's son-in-law. In 1694, the unfinished edifice was granted by William and Mary to Trustees, for the use and service of a Naval Hospital; and it has been repeatedly enlarged and improved, till it has arrived at its present splendour.

[2] The anti-church party.

[3] The report could hardly have been believed, considering his connexion with Oliver Cromwell.

propositions made by the Commissioners for the Navy, in 1618, to my great content; but no other Navy papers he could now shew me. Home, and took my wife by a hackney to the King's playhouse, and saw "The Coxcomb,"[1] the first time acted, but an old play, and a silly one, being acted only by the young people.

18th. Up, and to see Sir W. Coventry, and walked with him a good while in the Stone Walk: and brave discourse about my Lord Chancellor, and his ill managements and mistakes, and several things of the Navy. Home to dinner, where my wife mighty finely dressed, by a maid that she hath taken, and is to come to her when Jane goes; and the same she the other day told me of, to be so handsome. I therefore longed to see her, but did not till after dinner, that my wife and I going by coach, she went with us to Holborne, where we set her down. She is a mighty proper maid, and pretty comely, but so so; but hath a most pleasing tone of voice, and speaks handsomely, but hath most great hands, and I believe ugly; but very well dressed, and good clothes, and that otherwise I believe will please me well enough. Thence to visit Ned Pickering and his lady, and Creed and his wife, but the former abroad, and the latter out of town, gone to my Lady Pickering's, in Northamptonshire, upon occasion of the late death of their brother, Oliver Pickering, a youth, that is dead of the smallpox. So my wife and I to Dancre's, to see the pictures; and thence to Hyde Park, the first time we were there this year, or ever, in our own coach, where with mighty pride rode up and down, and many coaches there; and I thought our horses and coach as pretty as any there, and observed so to be by others. Here staid till night, and so home.

19th. Sir Thomas Clifford did speak to me, as desirous that I would some time come and confer with him, about the Navy, which I am glad of, but will take the direction

[1] A Comedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher.

of the Duke of York before I do it, though I would be glad to do something to secure myself, if I could, in my employment. Thence to the plaisterer's, and took my face, and my Lord Duke of Albemarle's, home with me by coach, they being done to my mind; and mighty glad I am of understanding this way of having the pictures of any friends. After dinner, with Commissioner Middleton and Kempthorne[1] to a Court-martiall, to which, by virtue of my late Captainship, I am called, the first I was ever at; where many Commanders, and Kempthorne president. Here was tried a difference between Sir L. Van Hemskirke,[2] the Dutch Captain who commands "The Nonsuch," built by his direction, and his Lieutenant; a drunken kind of silly business. We ordered the Lieutenant to ask him pardon, and have resolved to lay before the Duke of York what concerns the Captain, which was striking of his Lieutenant and challenging him to fight, which comes not within any article of the laws martiall. But upon discourse the other day with Sir W. Coventry, I did advise Middleton, and he and I did forbear to give judgment, but after the debate did withdraw into another cabin, the Court being held in one of the yachts, which was on purpose brought up over against St. Katharine's, it being to be feared that this precedent of our being made Captains, in order to the trying of the loss of "The Defyance," wherein we are the proper persons to enquire into the want of instructions while ships do lie in harbour, might be hereafter made of evil use, by putting the Duke of Buckingham, or any of these rude fellows that now are uppermost, to make packed Courts, by Captains made on purpose to serve their turns. The other cause was of the loss of the Providence at Tangier, where the Captain's being by chance on shore

[1] Sir John Kempthorne, a Commissioner of the Navy under Charles II., and Admiral of a fleet in the Narrow Seas, 1677–8.—Pepys's *Signs Manual.*

[2] See vol. iii., pp. 423, 440.

may prove very inconvenient to him, for example's sake, though the man be a good man, and one whom, for Norwood's sake, I would be kind to; but I will not offer any thing to the excusing such a miscarriage. He is at present confined, till he can bring better proofs on his behalf, of the reasons of his being on shore. So Middleton and I away to the Office; and there I late busy, making my people, as I have done lately, to read Mr. Holland's [1] Discourse of the Navy, and what other things I can get to inform me fully in all; and here late, about eight at night, comes Mr. Wren to me, who had been at the Tower to visit Sir W. Coventry. He came only to see how matters go, and tells me, as a secret, that last night the Duke of York's closet was broken open, and his cabinets, and shut again, one of them: that the rogue that did it hath left plate and a watch behind him, and therefore they fear that it was only for papers, which looks like a very malicious business in design, to hurt the Duke of York; but they cannot know that, till the Duke of York comes to town about the papers, and therefore make no words of it. He gone, I to work again, and then to supper at home, and to bed.

20th. Up, and to the Tower, to Sir W. Coventry, and there walked with him alone, on the Stone Walk, till company came to him; and there about the business of the Navy discoursed with him, and about my Lord Chancellor and Treasurer; that they were against the war with the Dutch at first, declaring, as wise men and statesmen, at first to the King, that they thought it fit to have a war with them at some time or other, but that it ought not to be till we found the Crowns of Spain and France together by the eares, the want of which did ruin our war. But

[1] John Holland, Paymaster to the Treasurer of the Navy, mentioned before (see vol. i., p. 136). A copy of this work, which has never been printed, is amongst Sir Hans Sloane's MSS. in the British Museum, and another, in connexion with papers relative to the Navy, formerly belonging to Sir George Duckett.

then he told me that, a great while before the war, my Lord Chancellor did speak of a war with some heat, as a thing to be desired, and did it upon a belief that he could with his own speeches make the Parliament give what money he pleased, and do what he would, or would make the King desire; but he found himself soon deceived of the Parliament, they having a long time before his removal been cloyed with his speeches and good words, and being come to hate him. Sir W. Coventry did tell me it, as the wisest thing that ever was said to the King by any statesman of his time, and it was by my Lord Treasurer that is dead, whom, I find, he takes for a very great statesman —that when the King did show himself forward for passing the Act of Indemnity, he did advise the King that he would hold his hand in doing it, till he had got his power restored, that had been diminished by the late times, and his revenue settled in such a manner as he might depend on himself, without resting upon Parliaments, and then pass it. But my Lord Chancellor, who thought he could have the command of Parliaments for ever, because for the King's sake they were awhile willing to grant all the King desired, did press for its being done; and so it was, and the King from that time able to do nothing with the Parliament almost. Mightily pleased with the news brought me to-night, that the King and Duke of York are come back this afternoon, and no sooner come, but a warrant was sent to the Tower for the releasing Sir W. Coventry; which do put me in some hopes that there may be, in this absence, some accommodation made between the Duke of York and the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Arlington.

21st. (Lord's-day.) By water over to Southwarke; and then, not getting a boat, I forced to walk to Stangate; and so over to White Hall, in a scull; where to the Duke of York's dressing-room, and there met Harry Saville, and do understand that Sir W. Coventry is come to his house

last night. I understand by Mr. Wren that his friends having, by Secretary Trevor and my Lord Keeper, applied to the King, upon his first coming home, and a promise made that he should be discharged this day, my Lord Arlington did anticipate them, by sending a warrant presently for his discharge, which looks a little like kindness, or a desire of it; which God send! though I fear the contrary: however, my heart is glad that he is out. Thence up and down the House. Met Mr. May,[1] who tells me the story of his being put by Sir John Denham's place, of Surveyor of the King's Works, who, it seems, is lately dead, by the unkindness of the Duke of Buckingham, who hath brought in Dr. Wren:[2] though, he tells me, he hath been his servant for twenty years together, in all his wants and dangers, saving him from want of bread by his care and management, and with a promise of having his help in his advancement, and an engagement under his hand for £1000 not yet paid, and yet the Duke of Buckingham is so ungrateful as to put him by: which is an ill thing, though Dr. Wren is a worthy man. But he tells me that the King is kind to him, and hath promised him a pension of £300 a-year out of the Works; which will be of more content to him than the place, which, under their present wants of money, is a place that disobliges most people, being not able to do what they desire to their lodgings. Here meeting with Sir H. Cholmly and Povy, they tell me that my Lord Middleton is resolved in the Cabal that he shall not go to Tangier; and that Sir Edward Harlow,[3] whom I know not, is propounded to go, who was Governor of Dunkirke, and, they say, a most worthy brave man, which I shall be very glad of. W. Howe comes to dine with me; and after dinner propounds to me my lending him £500, to help him to purchase a

[1] Hugh May. [2] Sir Christopher.

[3] A mistake for Harley, noticed in vol. i., p. 71. He had been made a Knight of the Bath at the Coronation of Charles II.

place—the Master of the Patent Office, of Sir Richard Piggott. I did give him a civil answer, but shall think twice of it; and the more, because of the changes we are like to have in the Navy, which will make it fit for me to divide the little I have left more than I have done, God knowing what my condition is, I having not attended, and now not being able to examine what my state is, of my accounts, and being in the world, which troubles me mightily. News lately come of the Algerines taking £13,000 in money, out of one of our Company's East India ships, outward bound, which will certainly make the war last; which I am sorry for, being so poor as we are, and broken in pieces. Pelling comes to see and sup with us, and I find that he is assisting to my wife in getting a licence to our young people[1] to be married this Lent, which is resolved shall be done upon Friday next, my great day, or feast, for my being cut of the stone.

22d. Up, and by water, with W. Hewer, to White Hall, there to attend the Lords of the Treasury; but, before they sat, I did make a step to see Sir W. Coventry at his house, where, I bless God! he is come again; but in my way I met him, and so he took me into his coach and carried me to White Hall, and there set me down where he ought not—at least, he hath not yet leave to come, nor hath thought fit yet to ask it, hearing that Harry Saville is not only denied to kiss the King's hand, but the King, being asked it by the Duke of York, did deny it, and directed that the Duke shall not receive him, to wait upon him in his chamber, till further orders. Sir W. Coventry told me that he was going to visit Sir John Trevor, who hath been kind to him: and he showed me a long list of all his friends that he must this week make visits to, that came to visit him in the Tower; and seems mighty well satisfied with his being out of business, but I hope he will not long be so; at least, I do believe that all must go to

[1] His servants.

rack, if the King do not come to see the want of such a servant. Thence to the Treasury-Chamber, and there all the morning, to my great grief, put to do Sir G. Downing's work of dividing the Customes for this year, between the Navy, the Ordnance, and Tangier: but it did so trouble my eyes, that I had rather have given £20 than have had it to do; but I did thereby oblige Sir Thomas Clifford and Sir J. Duncomb, and so am glad of the opportunity to recommend myself to the former, for the latter I need not, he loving me well already. At it till noon, here being several of my brethren with me, but doing nothing, but I all. But this day I did also represent to our Treasurers, which was read here, a state of the charge of the Navy, and what the expence of it this year would likely be; which is done so as it will appear well done, and to my honour, for so the Lords did take it: and I oblige the Treasurers by doing it, at their request. With W. Hewer at noon to Unthanke's, where my wife stays for me; and so to the Cocke, where there was no room, and thence to King's Street, to several cook's shops, where nothing to be had; and at last to the corner shop, going down Ivy Lane, by my Lord of Salisbury's,[1] and there got a good dinner, my wife, and W. Hewer, and I; and after dinner she, with her coach, home; and he and I to look over my papers for the East India Company, against the afternoon: which done, I with them to White Hall, and there to the Treasury-Chamber, where the East India Company and three Councillors pleaded against me alone, for three or four hours, till seven at night, before the Lords; and the Lords did give me the conquest on behalf of the King, but could not come to any conclusion, the Company being stiff: and so I think we shall go to law

[1] This house, long since pulled down, was built by Sir Robert Cecil, the first Earl of Salisbury, and called after his title. It stood in the Strand, on the site of Cecil Street. Ivy Bridge Lane was near the old mansion.

with them. This done, and my eyes mighty bad with this day's work, I to Mr. Wren's, and then up to the Duke of York, and there with Mr. Wren did propound to him my going to Chatham to-morrow with Commissioner Middleton, and so this week to make the pay there, and examine the business of "The Defyance" being lost, and other businesses, which I did the rather, that I might be out of the way, at the wedding,[1] and be at a little liberty myself for a day or two, to find a little pleasure, and give my eyes a little ease. The Duke of York mightily satisfied with it; and so away home, where my wife troubled at my being so late abroad, poor woman! though never more busy, but I satisfied her; and so begun to put things in order for my journey to-morrow, and so, after supper, to bed.

23d. I took coach with Commissioner Middleton, Captain Tinker, and Mr. Huchinson, and out towards Chatham, and dined at Dartford, where we staid an hour or two, it being a cold day: and so on, and got to Chatham just at night, with very good discourse by the way, but mostly of matters of religion, wherein Huchinson his vein lies. After supper, we fell to talk of spirits and apparitions, whereupon many pretty, particular stories were told, so as to make me almost afraid to be alone, but for shame I could not help it; and so to bed; and, being sleepy, fell soon to rest, and so rested well.

24th. To the Hill-House, and there did give order for a coach to be made ready; and got Mr. Gibson, whom I carried with me, to go with me and Mr. Coney, the surgeon, towards Maydstone, which I had a mighty mind to see, and took occasion, in my way, at St. Margett's, to pretend to call to see Captain Allen, to see whether Mrs. Jowles,[2] his daughter, was there; and there his wife come to the door, he being at London, and, through a window, I spied Jowles, but took no notice of her, but made

[1] See the day before.

[2] See vol. i., pp. 177 to 181, *passim*.

excuse till night, and then promised to come and see Mrs. Allen again. A mighty cold and windy, but clear day; and had the pleasure of seeing the Medway running, winding up and down mightily, and a very fine country; and I went a little out of the way to have visited Sir John Bankes, but he at London; but here I had a sight of his seat and house,[1] the outside, which is an old abbey just like Hinchingbroke, and as good at least, and mighty finely placed by the river; and he keeps the grounds about it, and walls and the house, very handsome: I was mightily pleased with the sight of it. Thence to Maydstone, which I had a mighty mind to see, having never been there; and walked all up and down the town, and up to the top of the steeple, and had a noble view, and then down again: and in the town did see an old man beating of flax, and did step into the barn and give him money, and saw that piece of husbandry which I never saw, and it is very pretty: in the street also I did buy and send to our inne, the Bell, a dish of fresh fish. And so, having walked all round the town, and found it very pretty, as most towns I ever saw, though not very big, and people of good fashion in it, we to our inne, and had a good dinner; and a barber came to me, and there trimmed me, that I might be clean against night, to go to Mrs. Allen. And so, staying till four o'clock, we set out, I alone in the coach going and coming: and in our way back, I 'light out of the way to see a Saxon monument,[2] as they say, of

[1] The Friary, in Aylesford parish, since the property of the Earls of Aylesford, whose ancestor, Heneage Finch, married the eldest daughter and co-heir of Sir John Bankes.

[2] This is the ancient monument called Kit's Coty House, supposed to be the burial-place of Catigern, who fell in command of the Britons, in a sanguinary but successful conflict against the Saxons, under Hengist and Horsa. It stands on the Downs, about one mile north-east of Aylesford Church. See Stukeley's "*Itinerarium*," in which are two views of the monument, and Hasted's "*History of Kent*," vol. ii.

a King, which is of three stones standing upright, and a great round one lying on them, of great bigness, although not so big as those on Salisbury Plain; but certainly it is a thing of great antiquity, and I am mightily glad to see it; it is near to Aylesford, where Sir John Bankes lives. So homeward to Chatham, to Captain Allen's, and there 'light, and sent the coach and Gibson home, and I and Coney staid; and there comes to us Mrs. Jowles, who is a very fine, proper lady, as most I know, and well dressed. Here was also a gentleman, one Major Manly, and his wife, neighbours; and here we staid, and drank, and talked, and sat. Cony and he to play, while Mrs. Jowles and I to talk, and there had all our old stories up, and there I had the liberty to salute her often; and she mighty free in kindness to me; and had there been time, I might have carried her to Cobham, as she, upon my pressing it, was very willing to go. Here was a pretty cosin of her's come into supper also, of a great fortune, daughter-in-law to this Manly, mighty pretty, but had now such a cold, she could not speak. Here staid till almost twelve at night, and then with a lanthorn from thence walked over the fields, as dark as pitch, and mighty cold, and snow, to Chatham, and Mr. Coney with great kindness to me; and there all in bed before I come home, and so I presently to bed.

25th. Up, and by and by, about eight o'clock, came Rear-Admiral Kempthorne and seven Captains more, by the Duke of York's order, as we expected, to hold the Court-martiall about the loss of "The Defyance;" and so presently we by boat to "The Charles," which lies over against Upnor Castle; and there I did manage the business, the Duke of York having, by special order, directed them to take the assistance of Commissioner Middleton and me, forasmuch as there might be need of advice in what relates to the government of the ships in harbour. And so I did lay the law open to them, and

rattle the Master-Attendants out of their wits almost; and made the trial last till seven at night, not eating a bit all the day; only when he had done examination, and I given my thoughts that the neglect of the Gunner of the ship was as great as I thought any neglect could be, which might by the law deserve death, but Commissioner Middleton did declare that he was against giving the sentence of death, we withdrew, as not being of the Court, and so left them to do what they pleased; and, while they were debating it, the Boatswain of the ship did bring us out of the kettle a piece of hot salt beef, and some brown bread and brandy; and there we did make a little meal, but so good as I never would desire to eat better meat while I live, only I would have cleaner dishes. By and by they had done, and called us down from the quarter-deck; and there we find they do sentence that the Gunner of "The Defyance" should stand upon "The Charles" three hours, with his fault writ upon his breast, and with a halter about his neck, and so be made incapable of any service. The truth is, the man do seem, and is, I believe, a good man; but his neglect, in trusting a girl to carry fire into his cabin, is not to be pardoned. This being done, we took boat and home; and there a good supper was ready for us, which should have been our dinner. The Captains, desirous to be at London, went away presently for Gravesend, to get thither by this night's tide; and so we to supper, it having been a great snowy and mighty cold, foul day; and so after supper to bed.

26th. Up, and with Middleton all the morning at the Docke, looking over the storehouses and Commissioner Pett's house,[1] in order to Captain Cox's coming to live there in his stead, as Commissioner. But it is a mighty pretty house; and pretty to see how every thing is said to be out of repair for this new man, though £10 would put it into as good condition in everything, as it ever was

[1] See the Addenda.

in, so free every body is of the King's money! And so to dinner at the Hill-House; and after dinner, till eight at night, close, Middleton and I, examining the business of Mr. Pett, about selling a boat, and we find him a very knave; and some other quarrels of his, wherein, to justify himself, he hath made complaints of others. This being done, we to supper, and so to talk, Commissioner Middleton being mighty good company upon a journey, and so to bed, thinking how merry my people are at this time, Tom and Jane being to have been married this day, it being also my feast for my being cut of the stone, but how many years I do not remember, but I think it to be about ten or eleven.

27th. After drinking a little buttered ale, Huchinson and I took coach, and, exceeding merry in talk, to Dartford: Middleton finding stories of his own life at Barbadoes, and up and down at Venice, and elsewhere, that are mighty pretty, and worth hearing; and he is a strange good companion, and droll upon the road, more than ever I could have thought to have been in him. Took coach again, and got home about six at night, it being all the morning as cold, snowy, windy, and rainy day, as any in the whole winter past, but pretty clear in the afternoon. I find all well, but my wife abroad with Jane, who was married yesterday. By and by my wife comes, and there I hear how merry they were yesterday, and I am glad at it, they being married, it seems, very handsomely, at Islington; and dined at the old house, and lay in our blue chamber, with much company, and wonderful merry: The. Turner and Mary Batelier bride-maids, and Talbot Pepys and W. Hewer bridesmen.

28th. To the Office with Tom, who looks mighty snug upon his marriage, as Jane also do, both of whom I did give joy, and so Tom and I to work at the Office all the morning, till dinner, and then dined, W. Batelier with us; and so after dinner to work again, and sent for Gibson,

and kept him also till eight at night, doing much business. And so, that being done, and my journall writ, my eyes being very bad, and every day worse and worse, I fear; but I find it most certain that stronge drinks do make my eyes sore, as they have done heretofore always; for, when I was in the country, when my eyes were at the best, their stronge beere would make my eyes sore; so home to supper, and by and by to bed.

29th. Up, and by water to White Hall; and there to the Duke of York, to show myself, after my journey to Chatham, but did no business to-day with him: only after gone from him, I to Sir T. Clifford's; and there, after an hour's waiting, he being alone in his closet, I did speak with him, and give him the account he gave me to draw up, and he did like it very well: and then fell to talk of the business of the Navy: and giving me good words, did fall foul of the constitution of the Board, and then did discover his thoughts, that Sir J. Minnes was too old, and so was Colonel Middleton, and that my Lord Brouncker did mind his mathematics too much. I did not give much encouragement to that of finding fault with my Fellow-Officers; but did stand up for the constitution, and did say that what faults there were in our Office would be found not to arise from the constitution, but from the failures of the Officers in whose hands it was. This he did seem to give good ear to; but did give me of myself very good words, which pleased me well, though I shall not build upon them any thing. Thence home; and after dinner by water with Tom down to Greenwich, he reading to me all the way, coming and going, my Collections out of the Duke of York's old manuscript of the Navy, which I have bound up, and do please me mightily. At Greenwich I came to Captain Cocke's, where the house full of company, at the burial of James Temple, who, it seems, hath been dead these five days: here I had a very good ring, which I did give my wife as soon as I came home.

I spent my time there walking in the garden, talking with James Pierce, who tells me that he is certain that the Duke of Buckingham had been with his wenches all the time that he was absent, which was all the last week, nobody knowing where he was. The great talk is of the King's being hot of late against Conventicles, and to see whether the Duke of Buckingham's being returned will turn the King, which will make him very popular; and some think it is his plot to make the King thus, to show his power in the making him change his mind. But Pierce did tell me that the King did certainly say, that he that took one stone from the Church, did take two from his Crown. By and by the corpse came out; and I, with Sir Richard Browne and Mr. Evelyn, in their coach to the Church, where Mr. Plume preached. I, in the midst of the sermon, did go out, and walked all alone round to Deptford; and so to the King's Yard, and there my boat by order met me, and home. This day my new chamber-maid, that comes in the room of Jane, is come, Jane and Tom lying at their own lodging this night: the new maid's name is Matt, a proper and very comely maid. This day also our cook-maid Bridget went away, which I was sorry for; but, just at her going, she was found to be a thief, and so I was the less troubled for it; but now our whole house will, in a manner, be new, which, since Jane is gone, I am not at all sorry for.

30th. Up, and to Sir W. Coventry, to see and discourse with him; and he tells me that he hath lately been with my Lord Keeper, and had much discourse about the Navy: and particularly he tells me that he finds they are divided touching me, and my Lord Brouncker; some are for removing, and some for keeping us. He told my Lord Keeper that it would cost the King £10,000 before he had made another as fit to serve him in the Navy as I am; which though I believe it is true, yet I am much pleased to have that character given me by Sir W. Coventry,

whatever be the success of it. But I perceive they do think that I know too much, and shall impose upon whomever shall come next, and therefore must be removed, though he tells me that Sir T. Clifford is inclined well enough to me, and Sir T. Osborne, by what I have lately done, I suppose. This news is but what I ought not to be much troubled for, considering my incapacity, in regard to my eyes, to continue long at this work. To the Office, where all the morning; and Sir W. Pen, the first time that he hath been here since his being last sick, which I think is two or three months; and I think will be the last that he will be here as one of the Board, he now inviting us all to dine with him, as a parting dinner, on Thursday next, which I am glad of, I am sure; for he is a very villain.

31st. Up, and by water to Sir W. Coventry's, there to talk with him about business of the Navy, and received from him direction what to advise the Duke of York at this time, which was to submit and give way to the King's naming a man or two, that the people about him have a mind should be brought into the Navy, and perhaps that may stop their fury in running further against the whole; and this, he believes, will do it. After much discourse with him, I walked out with him into St. James's Park, where, being afraid to be seen with him, he having not leave yet to kiss the King's hand, but notice taken, as I hear, of all that go to him, I did make the pretence of my attending the Tangier Committee to take my leave, though to serve him I should, I think, stick at nothing. At the Committee, this morning, my Lord Middleton declares at last his being ready to go, as soon as ever money can be made ready to pay the garrison: and so I have orders to get money, but how soon I know not. Thence home, and there find Mr. Sheres, of whom I find my wife of late to talk with mighty kindness; and particularly he hath shewn himself to be a poet, and that she do mightily value him for. He did not stay to dine with us, but we to dinner;

and then, in the afternoon, my wife being very well dressed by her new maid, we abroad, to make a visit to Mrs. Pickering; but she abroad again, and so we never yet saw her. Thence to Dancre's, and there saw our pictures which are in doing; and I did choose a view of Rome, instead of Hampton Court; and mightily pleased I shall be in them. Here were Sir Charles Cotterell and his son bespeaking something; both ingenious men, I hear. Thence my wife and I to the Park; and pretty store of company; and so home with great content: and so ends the month, my mind in pretty good content for all things, but the designs on foot to bring alterations in the Office, which trouble me.

April 1st. Up, and with Colonel Middleton, at the desire of Rear-Admiral Kempthorne, the President, for our assisting them, to the Court-martiall on board a yacht. In the River here, to try the business of the Purser's complaints, Baker against Trevanion, his Commander, of "The Dartmouth." But, Lord! to see what wretched doings there were among all the Commanders to ruin the Purser, and defend the Captain in all his rogueries, be it to the prejudice of the King or Purser, no good man could bear! I confess I was pretty high, which the young gentlemen Commanders did not like; and Middleton did the same. But could not bring it to any issue this day, sitting till two o'clock; and therefore we being sent for, went to Sir W. Pen's by invitation to dine; where my wife was, and my Lord Brouncker and his mistress, and Sir J. Minnes and his niece; and here a bad dinner, and little mirth, I being little pleased with my host. However, I make myself sociable; and so, after dinner, my wife and I, with my Lord Brouncker and his mistress, who set us down at my cosin Turner's, and there we staid awhile and talked: and particularly here we met with Dr. Ball, the Parson of the Temple, who did tell me a great many pretty stories about the manner of the Parsons being paid for their preaching

at Paul's heretofore, and now, and the ground of the Lecture, and for the names of the founders thereof, which were many, at some 5*s.*, some 6*s.* per annum towards it: and had their names read in the pulpit every sermon among those holy persons that the Church do order a collect for, giving God thanks for.

2d. To White Hall, and there to the Duke of York's lodgings, whither he, by and by, by his appointment came: and alone with him an hour in his closet, telling him mine and Sir W. Coventry's advice touching the present posture of the Navy, as the Duke of Buckingham and the rest do now labour to make changes therein; and that it were best for him to suffer the King to be satisfied with the bringing in of a man or two whom they desire. I did also give the Duke of York a short account of the history of the Navy, as to our Office, wherewith he was very well satisfied: but I do find that he is pretty stiff against their bringing in of men against his mind, as the Treasurers were, and particularly against Child's[1] coming in, because he is a merchant. After much discourse with him, we parted; and the Council sat, while I staid waiting for his telling me when I should be ready to give him a written account of the administration of the Navy, which caused me to wait the whole afternoon, till night. In the meantime, stepping to the Duchesse of York's side to speak with Lady Peterborough, I did see the young Duchesse,[2] a little child in hanging sleeves, dance most finely, so as almost to ravish me, her ears were so good: taught by a Frenchman that did heretofore teach the King, and all the King's children, and the Queene-Mother herself, who do still dance well. Thence to the council door, and Mr. Cheffinch took me into the back stairs, and there with his friend, Mr. Fowkes, for whom he is very solicitous in some things depending in this Office, he did make me, with

[1] Afterwards Sir Josiah Child.

[2] The Princess Mary, afterwards Queen of England.

some others that he took in (among others, Alderman Backewell), eat a pickled herring, the largest I ever saw, and drink variety of wines till I was almost merry; but I did keep in good time; and so, after the Council was up, I home; and there find my wife not yet come from Deptford, where she hath been all this day to see her mother. This night I did bring home from the King's pottecary's, in White Hall, by Mr. Cooling's direction, a water that he says is mighty good for his eyes. I pray God it may do me good; but, by his description, his disease was the same as mine, and this do encourage me to use it.

3d. Up, and to the Council of War again, with Middleton: and the proceedings of the Commanders so devilishly bad, and so professedly partial to the Captain, that I could endure it no longer, but took occasion to pretend business at the Office, and away, and Colonel Middleton with me, who was of the same mind, and resolved to declare our minds freely to the Duke of York about it.

4th. (Lord's-day.) Up, and to Church, where Alderman Backewell's wife, by invitation with my leave, come up with her mother, and sat with us, and after sermon I did walk with them home, and there left them, and home to dinner. After dinner with Sir J. Minnes and T. Middleton to White Hall, by appointment; and at my Lord Arlington's the Office did attend the King and Cabal, to discourse of the further quantity of victuals fit to be declared for,[1] which was 2000 men for six months; and so home without more ado or stay there, hearing no news but that Sir Thomas Allen is to be expected every hour at home with his fleet, or news of his being gone back to Algier. The Queene-Mother hath been of late mighty ill, and some fears of her death.

5th. With Creed walking in the garden, and talking about our Office, and Child's coming in to be a Commissioner; and, being his friend, I did think he might do me

[1] The official expression still used.

a kindness to learn of him what the Duke of Buckingham and the faction do design touching me, and to instil good words concerning me, which he says, and I believe he will: and it is but necessary; for I have not a mind indeed at this time to be put out of my Office, if I can make any shift that is honourable to keep it; but I will not do it by deserting the Duke of York. At noon by appointment comes Mr. Sheres, and he and I to Unthanke's, where my wife stays for us in our coach, and Betty Turner with her; and we to the Mulberry Garden, where Sheres is to treat us with a Spanish Olio,[1] by a cook of his acquaintance that is there, that was with my Lord in Spain: and without any other company, he did do it, and mighty nobly; and the Olio was indeed a very noble dish, such as I never saw better, or any more of. This, and the discourse he did give us of Spain, and description of the Escuriall, was a fine treat. So we left other good things, that would keep till night, for a collation; and, with much content, took coach again, and went five or six miles towards Branford, where the Prince of Tuscany,[2] who comes into England only to spend money and see our country, comes into the town to-day, and is much expected; and we met him, but the coach passing by apace, we could not see much of him, but he seems a very jolly and good comely man. By the way, we overtook Captain Ferrers upon his fine Spanish horse, and he is a fine horse indeed; but not so good, I think, as I have seen some. He did ride by us most of the way, and with us to the Park, and there left us, where we passed the evening, and meeting The. Turner, Talbot, W. Batelier, and his sister, in a coach, we anon took them with us to the Mulberry Garden; and there, after a walk, to supper upon what was left at noon;

[1] Oleo, or olio, is the Spanish for oil.

[2] Cosmo de' Medici, who succeeded his father Ferdinand in the Dukedom of Tuscany 1670. A translation of his Tour in England has been published.

and very good; only Mr. Sheres being taken suddenly ill for a while, did spoil our mirth; but by and by was well again, and we mighty merry: and so broke up, and left him at Charing Cross, and so calling only at my cosin Turner's, away home, mightily pleased with the day's work. This day come another new mayd, for a middle mayd, but her name I know not yet; and, for a cook-maid, we have, ever since Bridget went, used a blackmoore of Mr. Batelier's, Doll, who dresses our meat mighty well, and we mightily pleased with her.

6th. To Mr. Batelier's to dinner, where my cosin Turner and both her daughters, and Talbot Pepys and my wife, and a mighty fine dinner. They at dinner before I come; and, when I had dined, I away home, and thence to White Hall, where the Board waited on the Duke of York; and Middleton and I did in plain terms acquaint him what we thought and had observed in the late Court-martiall, which the Duke did give ear to; and though he thinks not fit to revoke what is already done in this case by a Court-martiall, yet it shall bring forth some good laws in the behaviour of Captains to their under Officers for the time to come. Thence home, and after a while at the Office, come home my wife, who hath been at Batelier's late, and dancing with the company, at which I seemed a little troubled, not being sent for myself, but I was not so much so, but went to bed well enough pleased.

7th. By coach to my cosin Turner's, and invited them to dine at the Cock to-day, with my wife and me; and so to the Lords of the Treasury, where all the morning, and settled matters to their liking about the assignments on the Customes, between the Navy Office and Victualler, and to that end spent most of the morning there with D. Gauden. I to the New Exchange, to talk with Betty,[1] my little sempstress; and so to Mrs. Turner's, to call them to dinner, but my wife not come, I back again, and

[1] Betty Smith: see p. 69, *ante*.

was overtaken by a porter, with a message from my wife that she was ill, and could not come to us: so I back again to Mrs. Turner's, and find them gone; and so back again to the Cock, and there find Mrs. Turner, Betty, and Talbot Pepys, and they dined with myself, Sir D. Gauden and Gibson, and mighty merry, this house being famous for good meat, and particularly pease-porridge. After dinner broke up, and they away; and I to the Council-Chamber, and there heard the great complaint of the City, tried against the gentlemen of the Temple, for the late riot, as they would have it, when my Lord Mayor was there. But, upon hearing the whole business, the City was certainly to blame to charge them in this manner as with a riot: but the King and Council did forbear to determine any thing in it, till the other business of the title and privilege be decided, which is now under dispute at law between them, whether the Temple be within the liberty of the City or no.[1] But I was sorry to see the City so ill advised as to complain in a thing where their proofs were so weak. Thence to my cosin Turner's, and thence with her and her daughters, and her sister Turner, I carrying Betty in my lap, to Talbot's chamber at the Temple, where, by agreement, the poor rogue had a pretty dish of anchovies and sweetmeats for them; and hither come Mr. Eden, who was in his mistress's disfavour ever since the other night that he come in thither fuddled, when we were there. But I did make them friends by my buffoonery, and bringing up a way of spelling their names, and making Theophila spell Lamton,[2] which she would have to be the name of Mr. Eden's mistress, and

[1] See p. 108, *ante*.

[2] Robert Eden, of West Auckland, Durham, which county he represented in Parliament for many years, married Margaret, daughter and heir of John Lambton, the lady here alluded to; and is the direct ancestor of the Lords Auckland. He was created a Baronet 13th November, 1672, and died in 1720, his wife surviving till 1730.

mighty merry we were till late. This day I do hear that Betty Turner is to be left at school at Hackny, which I am mightily pleased with; for then I shall, now and then, see her. She is pretty, and a girl for that, and her relations, I love.

8th. Up, and to White Hall, to the King's side, to find Sir T. Clifford, where the Duke of York came and found me, which I was sorry for, for fear he should think I was making friends on that side. But I did put it off the best I could, my being there: and so, by and by, had opportunity alone to show Sir T. Clifford the fair account I had drawn up of the Customes, which he liked, and seemed mightily pleased with me; and so away to the Excise-Office, to do a little business there, and so to the Office, where all the morning. With my wife by coach to Islington, to pay what we owe there, for the late dinner at Jane's wedding; and so round by Kingsland and Hogsden [1] home, pleased with my wife's singing with me, by the way. Going through Smithfield, I did see a coach run over a coachman's neck, and stand upon it, and yet the man rose up, and was well after it, which I thought a wonder.

9th. Up, and by water to White Hall, and there, with the Board, attended the Duke of York, and Sir Thomas Allen with us (who came to town yesterday); and it is resolved another fleet shall go to the Streights forthwith, and he command it. But his coming home is mighty hardly talked on by the merchants, for leaving their ships there to the mercy of the Turks: but of this more in my White-Book. To the Excise-Office, and to several places; among others, to Mr. Faythorne's, to have seen an instrument which he was said to have, for drawing perspectives, but he had it not: but here I did see his workhouse, and the best things of his doing he had by him.

10th. After dinner comes Mr. Seymour to visit me, a

[1] Hoggeston, *hodiè* Hoxton.

talking fellow: but I hear by him that Captain Trevanion do give it out everywhere, that I did over-rule the whole Court-martiall against him, so long as I was there; and perhaps I may receive, at this time, some wrong by it: but I care not, for what I did was out of my desire to do justice.

11th. (Easter-day.) Up; and to Church, where Alderman Backewell's lady, and mother, and boy, and another gentlewoman did come, and sit in our pew; but no women of our own there, and so there was room enough. Our Parson made a dull sermon, and so home to dinner; and, after dinner, my wife and I by coach, and Balty with us, to Loton,[1] the landscape-drawer, a Dutchman, living in St. James's market, but there saw no good pictures. But by accident he did direct us to a painter that was then in the house with him, a Dutchman, newly come over, one Evereest,[2] who took us to his lodging close by, and did show us a little flower-pot of his drawing, the finest thing that ever, I think, I saw in my life; the drops of dew hanging on the leaves, so as I was forced, again and again, to put my finger to it, to feel whether my eyes were deceived or no. He do ask £70 for it: I had the vanity to bid him £20; but a better picture I never saw in my whole life; and it is worth going twenty miles to see it. Thence, leaving Balty there, I took my wife to St. James's, and there carried her to the Queene's Chapel, the first time I ever did it; and heard excellent musick, but not so good as by accident I did hear there yesterday, as I went through the Park from White Hall to see Sir W. Coventry, which I have forgot to set down in my Journal yesterday. And going out of the Chapel, I did see the Prince of Tuscany come out, a comely, black, fat man, in a mourn-

[1] John Loten, a landscape painter, long established in London, where he died *circ.* 1688.

[2] Probably Simon Varelst, a Dutch flower-painter, who practised his art with much success in England about this time.

ing suit; and my wife and I did see him this afternoon through a window in this Chapel. All that Sir W. Coventry yesterday did tell me new was, that the King would not yet give him leave to come to kiss his hand; and he do believe that he will not in a great while do it, till those about him shall see fit, which I am sorry for. Thence to the Park, my wife and I; and here Sir W. Coventry did first see me and my wife in a coach of our own; and so did also this night the Duke of York, who did eye my wife mightily. But I begin to doubt that my being so much seen in my own coach at this time may be observed to my prejudice; but I must venture it now. So home, and so set down my Journal, with the help of my left eye through my tube, for fourteen days past; which is so much as, I hope, I shall not run in arrear again, but the badness of my eyes do force me to it.

12th. The whole Office attended the Duke of York at his meeting with Sir Thomas Allen and several Flag-Officers, to consider of the manner of managing the war with Algier; and, it being a thing I was wholly silent in, I did only observe; and find that their manner of discourse on this weighty affair was very mean and disorderly, the Duke of York himself being the man that I thought spoke most to the purpose. Meeting Mr. Sheres, took him to see the fine flower-pot I saw yesterday, and did again offer £20 for it; but he insists upon £50. By and by to my wife at Unthanke's, and with her was Jane, and so to the Cocke, where they, and I, and Sheres, and Tom dined, my wife having a great desire to eat of their soup made of pease. By water to the Bear-Garden, and there happened to sit by Sir Fretcheville Hollis, who is still full of his vain-glorious and prophane talk. Here we saw a prize fought between a soldier and a country-fellow, one Warrell, who promised the least in his looks, and performed the most of valour in his boldness and evenness of mind, and smiles in all he did, that ever I

saw; and we were all both deceived and infinitely taken with him. He did soundly beat the soldier, and cut him over the head. Thence back to White Hall, mightily pleased, all of us, with this sight, and particularly this fellow, as a most extraordinary man for his temper and evenness in fighting. Home, and, after sitting a while, thrumming upon my viall, and singing, I to bed, and left my wife to do something to a waistcoat and petticoat she is to wear to-morrow. This evening, coming home, we overtook Alderman Backewell's coach and his lady, and followed them to their house, and there made them the first visit, where they received us with extraordinary civility, and owning the obligation. But I do, contrary to my expectation, find her something a proud and vain-glorious woman, in telling the number of her servants and family and expences: he is also so, but he was ever of that strain. But here he showed me the model of his houses that he is going to build in Cornhill and Lumbard Street; but he hath purchased so much there, that it looks like a little town, and must have cost him a great deal of money.

13th. I by hackney-coach to the Spittle, and heard a piece of a dull sermon to my Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and thence saw them all take horse and ride away, which I have not seen together many a day; their wives also went in their coaches; and, indeed, the sight was mighty pleasing. Thence took occasion to go back to a milliner's in Fenchurch Street, whose name I understand to be Clerke; and there, her husband inviting me up to the balcony, to see the show go by to dinner, at Clothworkers'-Hall,[1] I did go up, and there saw it go by: and then, there being a good piece of cold roast beef upon the table,

[1] Clothworkers' Hall is situated near the north-east end of Mincing Lane, next to Fenchurch Street. Maitland (*Hist. of London*, p. 1037) describes it as a fine lofty room, in which Sir John Robinson, when Lord Mayor in 1663, entertained the King and Queen, the Queen

one Margetts, a young merchant that lodges there, and is likely to marry a sister of her's, and I staid and eat, and had much good conversation with her, who hath the vanity to talk of her great friends and father, one Wingate, near Welling,[1] that hath been a Parliament man. Here also was Stapely, the rope-merchant, and dined with us; and, after spending most of the afternoon also, I away home; and by water to White Hall to look, among other things, for Mr. May, to unbespeak his dining with me to-morrow. Home by water, and there I find Talbot Pepys, and Mrs. Turner, and Betty, come to invite us to dinner on Thursday; and, after drinking, saw them to the water-side.

14th. Up, and with W. Hewer to White Hall, and there I did speak with the Duke of York, the Council sitting in the morning, and it was to direct me to have my business ready of the Administration of the Office against Saturday next, when the King would have a hearing of it. To the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw "The Impertinents," a play which pleases me well still; but it is with great trouble that I now see a play, because of my eyes, the light of the candles making it very troublesome to me. After the play to Creed's, and there find him and his wife together alone, in their new house, where I never was before; and a pretty house it is; but I do not see that they intend to keep any coach. Here they treat us like strangers, quite according to the fashion—nothing to drink or eat, which is a thing that will spoil our ever having any acquaintance with them; for we do continue the old freedom and kindness of England to all our friends. They do here talk mightily of my Lady Paulina making a very good end, and being mighty religious in her life-

Dowager, and the Duke and Duchess of York. The arms of Pepys and Hewer, and other benefactors to the Company, were painted on the glass of the east window.

[1] Edward Wingate represented St. Albans in the Long Parliament.

time; and she hath left many good notes of sermons and religion, wrote with her own hand, which nobody ever knew of; which I am glad of: but she was always a peevish lady.

15th. To my cosen Turner's, where I find they are gone all to dinner to Povy's, and thither I, and there they were all, and W. Batelier and his sister, and had dined; but I had good things brought me, and then all up and down the house, and mightily pleased to see the fine rooms: but, the truth is, there are so many bad pictures, that do make the good ones lose much of the pleasure in seeing them. The. and Betty Turner in new flowered tabby gowns, and so we were pretty merry. So, about five or six o'clock, away, and I took my wife and the two Bateliers, and carried them homeward, and W. Batelier 'lighting, I carried the women round by Islington, and so down Bishopsgate Street home, and there to talk and sup, and then to-bed.

16th. My wife being gone abroad with W. Hewer, to see the new play to-day, at the Duke of York's house, "Guzman;"[1] I dined alone with my people, and in the afternoon away by coach to White Hall; and there the Office attended the Duke of York; and being despatched pretty soon, and told that we should not wait on the King, as intended, till Sunday, I thence presently to the Duke of York's playhouse, and there, in the 18*d.* seat, did get room to see almost three acts of the play; but it seemed to me but very ordinary. After the play done, I into the pit, and there find my wife and W. Hewer; and Sheres got to them, which, so jealous is my nature, did trouble me, though my judgment tells me there is no hurt in it, on neither side; but here I did meet with Shadwell, the poet, who, to my great wonder, do tell me that my Lord of [Orrery] did write this play, trying what he could do in comedy, since his heroique plays could do no more wonders. This do trouble me; for it is as mean a thing,

[1] A Comedy, by Roger Earl of Orrery.

and so he says, as hath been upon the stage a great while; and Harris, who hath no part in it, did come to me, and told me in discourse, that he was glad of it, it being a play that will not take.

17th. At noon home to dinner, and there find Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, and he dined with us; and there hearing that "The Alchymist" was acted, we did go, and took him with us to the King's house; and it is still a good play, having not been acted for two or three years before; but I do miss Clun, for the Doctor.[1] To Sir W. Coventry's, reading over first my draught of the Administration of the Navy, which he do like very well; and so fell to talk of his late disgrace, and how basely and in what a mean manner the Duke of Buckingham hath proceeded against him—not like a man of honour. He tells me that the King will not give other answer about his coming to kiss his hands, than "Not yet." But he says that this that he desires, of kissing the King's hand, is only to show to the world that he is not discontented, and not in any desire to come again into play, though I do perceive that he speaks this with less earnestness than heretofore: and this, it may be, is, from what he told me lately, that the King is offended at what is talked, that he hath declared himself desirous not to have to do with any employment more. But he do tell me that the leisure he hath yet had do not at all begin to be burdensome to him, he knowing how to spend his time with content to himself; and that he hopes shortly to contract his expence, so as that he shall not be under any straits in that respect neither; and so seems to be in very good condition of content. Thence I away over the Park, it being now night, to White Hall, and there, in the Duchesse's chamber, do find the Duke of York; and, upon my offer to speak with him, he did come to me, and withdrew to his closet, and there did hear and approve

[1] Subtle, the Alchymist.

my paper of the Administration of the Navy, only did bid me alter these words, "upon the rupture between the late King and the Parliament," to these, "the beginning of the late Rebellion;" giving it me as but reason to show that it was through the Rebellion that the Navy was put out of its old good course, into that of a Commission. Having done this, we fell to other talk; he with great confidence telling me how matters go among our adversaries, in reference to the Navy, and that he thinks they do begin to flag; but then, beginning to talk in general of the excellency of old constitutions, he did bring out of his cabinet, and made me read it, an extract out of a book of my late Lord of Northumberland's, so prophetic of the business of Chatham, as is almost miraculous. I did desire, and he did give it me to copy out, which pleased me mightily.

18th. To my Office again, to examine the fair draught; and so, borrowing Sir J. Minnes's coach, he going with Colonel Middleton, I to White Hall, where we all met and did sign it; and then to my Lord Arlington's, where the King, and the Duke of York, and Prince Rupert, as also Ormond and the two Secretaries, with my Lord Ashly and Sir T. Clifford, were. And there, by and by, being called in, Mr. Williamson did read over our paper, which was in a letter to the Duke of York, bound up in a book with the Duke of York's Book of Instructions. He read it well; and, after read, we were bid to withdraw, nothing being at all said to it. And by and by we were called in again, and nothing said to that business; but another begun, about the state of this year's action, and our wants of money, as I had stated the same lately to our Treasurers; which I was bid, and did largely, and with great content, open. And having so done, we all withdrew, and left them to debate our supply of money; to which, being called in, and referred to attend on the Lords of the Treasury, we all departed. And I only staid

in the House till the Council rose; and then to the Duke of York, in the Duchesse's chamber, where he told me that the book was there left with my Lord Arlington, for any of the Lords to view that had a mind, and to prepare and present to the King what they had to say in writing, to any part of it, which is all we can desire, and so that rested. The Duke of York then went to other talk; and by and by comes the Prince of Tuscany to visit him, and the Duchesse; and I find that he do still remain *incognito*, and so intends to do all the time he stays here, for avoiding trouble to the King and himself, and expence also to both. Thence I to White Hall Gate, thinking to have found Sir J. Minnes's coach staying for me; but, not being there, and this being the first day of rain we have had many a day, the streets being as dusty as in summer, I forced to walk to my cosin Turner's, and there, having kissed and taken leave of Betty, who goes to Putny to school to-morrow, I walked through the rain to the Temple, and there, with much ado, got a coach, and so home.

19th. Up, and with Tom, whom, with his wife, I, and my wife, had this morning taken occasion to tell that I did intend to give him £40 for himself, and £20 to his wife, towards their setting out in the world, and that my wife would give her £20 more, that she might have as much to begin with as he, by coach to White Hall. After dinner out again, and, calling about my coach, which was at the coachmaker's, and hath been for these two or three days, to be new painted, and the window-frames gilt against next May-day, went on with my hackney to White Hall.

20th. Up; and to the Office, and my wife abroad with Mary Batelier, with our own coach, but borrowed Sir J. Minnes's coachman, that so our own might stay at home, to attend at dinner; our family being mightily disordered by our little boy's falling sick the last night; and we fear

it will prove the small-pox. At noon comes my guest, Mr. Hugh May, and with him Sir Henry Capell, my old Lord Capell's son, and Mr. Parker; and I had a pretty dinner for them; and both before and after dinner had excellent discourse; and showed them my closet and my Office, and the method of it, to their great content; and more extraordinary, manly discourse and opportunity of showing myself, and learning from others, I have not, in ordinary discourse, had in my life, they being all persons of worth, but especially Sir H. Capell, whose being a Parliament-man, and hearing my discourse in the Parliament-house, hath, as May tells me, given him a long desire to know and discourse with me. In the afternoon we walked to the Old Artillery-Ground [1] near the Spitalfields, where I never was before, but now, by Captain Deane's invitation, did go to see his new gun tryed, this being the place where the Officers of the Ordnance do try all their great guns; and when we came, did find that the trial had been made; and they going away with extraordinary report of the proof of his gun, which, from the shortness and bigness, they do call Punchinello. But I desired Colonel Legg to stay and give us a sight of her performance, which he did, and there, in short, against a gun more than as long and as heavy again, and charged with as much powder again, she carried the same bullet as strong to the mark, and nearer and above the mark at a point blank than their's, and is more easily managed, and recoiles no more than that, which is a thing so extraordinary as to be admired for the happiness of his invention, and to the great regret of the old Gunners and Officers of the Ordnance that were there, only Colonel Legg did do her much right in his report of her. And so,

[1] In Bishopsgate Street, where some land had been granted to the Gunners of the Tower for the practice of great and small ordnance, by William, last Prior of St. Mary Spittle. It was long called the Artillery Garden; but ultimately it was found too small, and disused.

having seen this great and first experiment, we all parted, I seeing my guests into a hackney-coach, and myself, with Captain Deane, taking a hackney-coach, did go out towards Bow, and went as far as Stratford, and all the way talking of this invention, and he offering me a third of the profit of it; which, for aught I know, or do at present think, may prove matter considerable to us: for either the King will give him a reward for it, if he keeps it to himself, or he will give us a patent to make our profit of it; and no doubt but it will be of profit to merchantmen and others, to have guns of the same force at half the charge. This was our talk: and then to talk of other things, of the Navy in general: and, among other things, he did tell me that he do hear how the Duke of Buckingham hath a spite at me, which I knew before, but value it not: and he tells me that Sir T. Allen is not my friend; but for all this I am not much troubled, for I know myself so usefull that, as I believe, they will not part with me; so I thank God my condition is such that I can retire, and be able to live with comfort, though not with abundance.

21st. Up; and with my own coach as far as the Temple, and thence sent it to my cosin Turner, who, to ease her own horses, that are going with her out of town, do borrow mine. To Auditor Wood's, and met my Lord Bellassis upon some business of his accounts. Attended the Duke of York a little, being the first time of my waiting on him at St. James's this summer, whither he is now newly gone; and thence walked to White Hall; and so, by and by, to the Council-Chamber, and heard a remarkable cause pleaded between the Farmers of the Excise of Wiltshire, in complaint against the Justices of Peace of Salisbury: and Sir H. Finch was for the former. But, Lord! to see how he did with his admirable eloquence order the matter, is not to be conceived almost; so pleasant a thing it is to hear him plead. By and by comes my cosin Turner, and The., and Joyce, in their riding-clothes, they being come

from their lodgings to her husband's chamber, at the Temple, and there do lie, and propose to go out of town on Friday next; and here I had a good dinner for them. After dinner by water to White Hall, where the Duke of York did meet our Office, and went with us to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury; and there we did go over all the business of the state I had drawn up, of this year's action and expence, which I did do to their satisfaction, and convincing them of the necessity of providing more money, if possible, for us. Thence the Duke of York being gone, I did there stay walking with Sir H. Cholmly in the Court, talking of news; where he told me, that now the great design of the Duke of Buckingham is to prevent the meeting, since he cannot bring about with the King the dissolving, of this Parliament, that the King may not need it; and therefore my Lord St. Albans is hourly expected with great offers of a million of money,[1] to buy our breach with the Dutch; and this, they do think, may tempt the King to take the money, and thereby be out of a necessity of calling the Parliament again, which these people dare not suffer to meet again: but this he doubts, and so do I, that it will be the ruin of the nation if we fall out with Holland. My boy comes to tell me that his mistress was at the Gate with the coach, whither I went, and there find my wife and the whole company. So she, and Mrs. Turner, and The., and Talbot, in mine; and Joyce, W. Batelier, and I, in a hackney, to Hyde Park, where I was ashamed to be seen; but mightily pleased, though troubled, with a drunken coachman that did not remember when we come to 'light, where it was that he took us up; but said at Hammersmith, and thither he was carrying of us when we come first out of the Park. So I carried them all to Hercules-Pillars, and there did treat them: and so, about ten at night, parted, and my wife, and I, and W. Batelier, home; and he gone, we to bed.

[1] From Louis XIV.: see p. 161, *post*.

22d. Up, and to the Office, where all the morning. At noon home to dinner, and Captain Deane with us; and very good discourse, and particularly about my getting a book for him to draw up his whole theory of shipping, which, at my desire, he hath gone far in, and hath shown me what he hath done therein, to admiration. I did give him a Parallelogram, which he is mightily taken with; and so after dinner to the Office, where all the afternoon till night late, and then home. Vexed at my wife's not being come home, she being gone again abroad with M. Batelier, and come not home till ten at night, which vexed me, so that I to-bed, and lay in pain awake till past one, and then to sleep.

23d. Going to rise, without saying anything, my wife stopped me; and, after a little angry talk, did tell me how she spent all yesterday with M. Batelier and her sweetheart, and seeing a play at the New Nursery, which is set up at the house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, which was formerly the King's house. To the Council-Chamber, and heard two or three causes; among others, that of the complaint of Sir Philip Howard and Watson, the inventors, as they pretend, of the business of varnishing and lacker-worke, against the Company of Painters, who take upon them to do the same thing; where I saw a great instance of the weakness of a young Counsel not used to such an audience, against the Solicitor-General and two more able Counsel used to it. Though he had the right of his side, and did prevail for what he pretended to against the rest, yet it was with much disadvantage and hazard. Here I also heard Mr. Papillion[1] make his defence to the King, against some complaints of the Farmers of Excise; but it was so weak, and done only by his own seeking, that it was to his injury more than profit, and made his case the worse, being ill managed, and in a cause against the King.

[1] Was this David Papillon, author of "The Vanity of the Lives and Passions of Men?" Lond., 1651.

By agreement met my wife, and with her to the Cocke, and did give her a dinner. Thence to the King's play-house, and saw "The Generous Portugalls,"[1] a play that pleases me better and better every time we see it; and, I thank God! it did not trouble my eyes so much as I was afraid it would. Here, by accident, we met Mr. Sheres, and yet I could not but be troubled, because my wife do so delight to talk of him, and to see him. Nevertheless, we took him with us to our mercer's, and to the Exchange, and he helped me to choose a summer-suit of coloured camelott, coat and breeches, and a flowered tabby coat very rich; and so home, where he took his leave, and down to Greenwich, where he hath some friends; and I to see Colonel Middleton, who hath been ill for a day or two, or three; and so home to supper, and to bed.

24th. Mr. Sheres dining with us; and my wife, which troubled me, mighty careful to have a handsome dinner for him; but yet I see no reason to be troubled at it, he being a very civil and worthy man, I think; but only it do seem to imply some little neglect of me. After dinner to the King's house, and there saw "The General"[2] revived —a good play, that pleases me well, and thence, our coach coming for us, we parted and home. Well pleased to-night to have Lead, the vizard-maker, bring me home my vizard, with a tube fastened in it, which, I think, will do my business, at least in a great measure, for the easing of my eyes.

25th. (Lord's-day.) Up, and to my Office awhile, and thither comes Lead with my vizard, with a tube fastened within both eyes; which, with the help which he prompts me to, of a glass in the tube, do content me mightily. To Church, where a stranger made a dull sermon, but I mightily pleased to look upon Mr. Buckworth's little pretty daughters. W. Howe came and dined with us;

[1] This play has not been traced.

[2] By James Shirley.

and then I to my Office, he being gone, to write down my Journal for the last twelve days: and did it with the help of my vizard and tube fixed to it, and do find it mighty manageable, but how helpful to my eyes this trial will show me. So abroad with my wife, in the afternoon, to the Park, where very much company, and the weather very pleasant. I carried my wife to the Lodge, the first time this year, and there in our coach eat a cheesecake and drank a tankard of milk. I showed her this day also first the Prince of Tuscany, who was in the Park, and many very fine ladies.

26th. To Lily's, the Varnisher, who is lately dead, and his wife and brother keep up the trade, and there I left my French prints to be put on boards: and, while I was there, a fire burst out in a chimney of a house over against his house, but it was with a gun quickly put out. So home, calling at the laceman's for some lace for my new suit, and at my tailor's, and Mr. Sheres dined with us, who come hither to-day to teach my wife the rules of the perspective; but I think, upon trial, he thinks it too hard to teach her, being ignorant of the principle of lines. After dinner comes Colonel Macnachan, one that I see often at Court, a Scotchman, but know him not; only he brings me a letter from my Lord Middleton, who, he says, is in great distress for £500 to relieve my Lord Morton[1] with, but upon what account I know not; and he would have me advance it without order upon his pay for Tangier, which I was astonished at, but had the grace to deny him with an excuse. And so he went away, leaving me a little troubled that I was thus driven, on a sudden, to do any thing herein; but Creed, coming just now to see me, he approves of what I have done. And then to talk of general matters, and, by and by, Sheres being gone, my wife, and he, and I out, and I set him down at Temple

[1] William Douglas, ninth Earl of Morton, who had married Lord Middleton's daughter Grizel.

Bar, and myself and wife went down the Temple upon seeming business, only to put him off; and to the 'Change, about things for her; and here, at Mrs. Burnett's shop, I am told by Betty, who was all undressed, of a great fire happened in Durham-Yard last night, burning the house of one Lady Hungerford,[1] who was to come to town to it this night; and so the house is burned, new furnished, by carelessness of the girl sent to take off a candle from a bunch of candles, which she did by burning it off, and left the rest, as is supposed, on fire. The King and Court were here, it seems, and stopped the fire by blowing up of the next house. The King and Court went out of town to Newmarket this morning betimes, for a week. This night I did call at the coachmaker's, and do resolve upon having the standards of my coach gilt with this new sort of varnish, which will come but to 40*s.*; and, contrary to my expectation, the doing of the biggest coach all over comes not to above £6, which is [not] very much.

27th. Up and to the Office, where all the morning. At noon home to dinner, and then to the Office again, where all the afternoon busy till late, and then home, and got my wife to read to me in the Nepotisme,[2] which is very pleasant, and so to supper and to bed.

28th. Up, and was called upon by Sir H. Cholmly to discourse about some accounts of his, of Tangier: and then to other talk; and I find by him that it is brought almost

[1] Margaret, daughter and co-heir of William Halliday, Alderman of London, married to Sir Edward Hungerford, of Black Bourton, Oxfordshire, who died, *s. p.*, 1648. She survived till 1673. The house burned down adjoined the present Hungerford Market.

[2] The work here mentioned is a French translation, published in 1669, of a bitter satire against the Court of Rome, written in Italian, and as some say, by Gregorio Leti. It was first printed in 1667, without the name of place or printer, but it is from the press of the Elzevirs. The scope of the work will be well understood by the title: "Il Nipotismo di Roma, o vero relatione delle ragioni che muovono i Pontefici all' aggrandimento de' Nipoti: del bene e maleche hanno

to effect (through the late endeavours of the Duke of York and Duchesse, the Queene-Mother, and my Lord St. Alban's, together with some of the contrary faction, as my Lord Arlington,) that for a sum of money we shall enter into a league with the King of France, wherein, he says, my Lord Chancellor[1] is also concerned; and that he believes that, in the doing hereof, it is meant that he shall come in again, and that this sum of money will so help the King as that he will not need the Parliament; and that, in that regard, it will be forwarded by the Duke of Buckingham and his faction, who dread the Parliament. But hereby we must leave the Dutch, and that I doubt will undo us; and Sir H. Cholmly says he finds W. Coventry do think the like. My Lady Castlemaine is instrumental in this matter, and, he says, never more great with the King than she is now. But this is a thing that will make the Parliament and Kingdom mad, and will turn to our ruine: for with this money the King shall wanton away his time in pleasures, and think nothing of the main till it be too late. This morning Mr. Sheres sent me, in two volumes, Marian his History of Spaine,[2] in Spanish, an excellent book; and I am much obliged to him for it.

29th. Up; and to the Office, where all the morning, and at noon dined at home, and then to the Office again, there to dispatch as much business as I could, that I might be at liberty to-morrow to look after many things that I have to do, against May-day.

portato alla Chiesa dopo Sisto IV., sino al presente: delle difficultà che incontrano i ministri de' Prencipi nel trattare con loro, ed insieme col rimedio opportuno per liberarsi da tali difficoltà, e della causa perche le famiglie de' Pontefici non sono durate lungo tempo in grandezza." From this work the word *Nepotism* is derived, and is applied to the bad practice of statesmen, when in power, providing lucrative places for their relations.

[1] Clarendon, then an exile in France.

[2] "Historiæ de Rebus Hispaniæ Libri xx." By John Mariana; first printed at Toledo in 1592. The Spanish version is best known.

30th. Up, and by coach to the coachmaker's: and there I do find a great many ladies sitting in the body of a coach that must be ended by to-morrow: they were my Lady Marquess of Winchester,[1] Bellassis,[2] and other great ladies, eating of bread and butter, and drinking ale. I to my coach, which is silvered over, but no varnish yet laid on, so I put it in a way of doing; and myself about other business, and particularly to see Sir W. Coventry, with whom I talked a good while to my great content; and so to other places—among others, to my tailor's: and then to the beltmaker's, where my belt cost me 55*s.* of the colour of my new suit; and here, understanding that the mistress of the house, an oldish woman in a hat, hath some water good for the eyes, she did dress me, making my eyes smart most horribly, and did give me a little glass of it, which I will use, and hope it will do me good. So to the cutler's, and there did give Tom, who was with me all day, a sword cost me 12*s.* and a belt of my owne; and sent my own silver-hilt sword agilding against to-morrow. This morning I did visit Mr. Oldenburgh,[3] and did see the instrument for perspective made by Dr. Wren,[4] of which I have one making by Browne; and the sight of this do please me mightily. At noon my wife came to me at my tailor's, and I sent her home, and myself and Tom dined

[1] Isabella, daughter of William Howard, Viscount Stafford, third wife to John Powlett, fifth Marquis of Winchester.

[2] John Lord Bellassis was thrice married: first, to Jane, daughter of Sir Robert Boteler, of Woodhall, Herts; secondly, to Ann, daughter of Sir Robert Crane, of Chilton, Suffolk; thirdly, to Lady Anne Powlett, daughter of the above-named Marquis of Winchester, by his second wife, Lady Honora de Burgh; and who is the person referred to by Pepys.

[3] Henry Oldenburgh, Secretary of the Royal Society.

[4] A description of an instrument invented many years before by Dr. Christopher Wren, for drawing the outlines of any object in perspective, is given in the *Abridgment of Phil. Trans.*, vol. i., p. 325, (1669).

at Hercules Pillars; and so about our business again, and particularly to Lilly's, the varnisher, about my prints, whereof some of them are pasted upon the boards, and to my full content. Thence to the frame-maker's, one Norris, in Long Acre, who showed me several forms of frames, which were pretty, in little bits of mouldings, to choose patterns by. This done, I to my coachmaker's, and there vexed to see nothing yet done to my coach, at three in the afternoon; but I set it in doing, and stood by till eight at night, and saw the painter varnish it, which is pretty to see how every doing it over do make it more and more yellow: and it dries as fast in the sun as it can be laid on almost; and most coaches are, now-a-days, done so, and it is very pretty when laid on well, and not too pale, as some are, even to show the silver. Here I did make the workmen drink, and saw my coach cleaned and oyled; and, staying among poor people there in the ally, did hear them call their fat child Punch, which pleased me mightily, that word being become a word of common use for all that is thick and short. At night home, and there find my wife hath been making herself clean against to-morrow; and, late as it was, I did send my coachman and horses to fetch home the coach to-night, and so we to supper, myself most weary with walking and standing so much, to see all things fine against to-morrow, and so to bed. Meeting with Mr. Sheres, to several places, and, among others, to buy a perriwig, but I bought none; and also to Dancre's, where he was about my picture of Windsor, which is mighty pretty, and so will the prospect of Rome be.

May 1st. Up betimes. Called by my tailor, and there first put on a summer suit this year; but it was not my fine one of flowered tabby vest, and coloured camelott tunique, because it was too fine with the gold lace at the bands, that I was afraid to be seen in it; but put on the stuff suit I made the last year, which is now repaired; and so did go to the Office in it, and sat all the morning, the

day looking as if it would be fowle. At noon home to dinner, and there find my wife extraordinary fine, with her flowered tabby gown that she made two years ago, now laced exceeding pretty; and, indeed, was fine all over; and mighty earnest to go, though the day was very lowering; and she would have me put on my fine suit, which I did. And so anon we went alone through the town with our new liveries of serge, and the horses' manes and tails tied with red ribbons, and the standards gilt with varnish, and all clean, and green reines, that people did mightily look upon us; and, the truth is, I did not see any coach more pretty, though more gay, than our's, all the day. But we set out, out of humour—I because Betty, whom I expected, was not come to go with us; and my wife that I would sit on the same seat with her, which she likes not, being so fine: and she then expected to meet Sheres, which we did in the Pell Mell, and, against my will, I was forced to take him into the coach, but was sullen all day almost, and little complaisant: the day being unpleasing, though the Park full of coaches, but dusty, and windy, and cold, and now and then a little dribbling of rain; and, what made it worse, there were so many hackney-coaches as spoiled the sight of the gentlemen's;[1] and so we had little pleasure. But here was W. Batelier and his sister in a borrowed coach by themselves, and I took them and we to the lodge; and at the door did give them a syllabub, and other things, cost me 12*s.*, and pretty merry. And so back to the coaches, and there till the evening, and then home, leaving Mr. Sheres[2] at St. James's Gate, where he took

[1] This is a little too much, considering that the Journalist had so recently set up his own carriage.

[2] H. Sheres was afterwards employed, under Lord Dartmouth, as an engineer, in blowing up the works at Tangier in 1683. He had previously been one of Lord Sandwich's *suite* in the embassy to Spain, and seems to have been living in 1703, when he is described as a knight.

leave of us for altogether, he being this night to set out for Portsmouth post, in his way to Tangier, which troubled my wife mightily, who is mighty, though not, I think, too fond of him.

2d. (Lord's-day.) Up, and by water to White Hall, and there visited my Lord Sandwich, who, after about two months' absence at Hinchingbroke, came to town last night. I saw him, and he was very kind; and I am glad he is so, I having not wrote to him all the time, my eyes indeed not letting me. Here with Sir Charles Harbord, and my Lord Hinchingbroke, and Sidney, and we looked upon the picture of Tangier, designed by Charles Harbord, and drawn by Dancre, which my Lord Sandwich admires, as being the truest picture that ever he saw in his life: and it is indeed very pretty, and I will be at the cost of having one of them. Thence with them to White Hall, and there walked out the sermon with one or other; and then saw the Duke of York, and he talked to me a little; and so away back by water home. After dinner, got my wife to read, and then by coach, she and I, to the Park, and there spent the evening with much pleasure, it proving clear after a little shower, and we mighty fine as yesterday, and people mightily pleased with our coach, as I perceive; but I had not on my fine suit, being really afraid to wear it, it being so fine with the gold lace, though not gay.

3d. Up, and by coach to my Lord Brouncker's, where Sir G. Carteret did meet Sir J. Minnes and me, to discourse upon Mr. Deering's business, who was directed, in the time of the war, to provide provisions at Hamburgh, by Sir G. Carteret's direction; and now Sir G. Carteret is afraid to own it, it being done without written order. But by our meeting, we do all begin to recollect enough to preserve Mr. Deering, which I think, poor, silly man! I shall be glad of, it being too much he should suffer for endeavouring to serve us. Thence to St. James's, where the Duke of York was playing in the Pell Mell; and so he called me

to him most part of the time that he played, which was an hour, and talked alone to me; and, among other things, tells me how the King will not yet be got to name anybody in the room of Pen, but puts it off for three or four days; from whence he do collect that they are brewing something for the Navy, but what he knows not; but I perceive is vexed that things should go so, and he hath reason; for he told me that it is likely they will do in this as in other things—resolve first, and consider it and the fitness of it afterwards. Thence to White Hall, and met with Creed, and discoursed of matters; and I perceive by him that he makes no doubt but that all will turn to the old religion, for these people cannot hold things in their hands, nor prevent its coming to that; and by his discourse he fits himself for it, and would have my Lord Sandwich do so, too, and me. After a little talk with him, and particularly about the ruinous condition of Tangier, which I have a great mind to lay before the Duke of York, before it be too late, but dare not, because of his great kindness to Lord Middleton, we parted, and I homeward; but called at Povy's, and there he stopped me to dinner, there being Mr. Williamson, the Lieutenant of the Tower, Mr. Child, and several others. And after dinner, Povy and I together to talk of Tangier; and he would have me move the Duke of York in it, for it concerns him particularly, more than any, as being the head of us; and I do think to do it.

4th. Walked with my wife in the garden, and my Lord Brouncker with us, who is newly come to W. Pen's lodgings; and by and by comes Mr. Hooke; and my Lord, and he, and I into my Lord's lodgings, and there discoursed of many fine things in philosophy, to my great content.

5th. Up, and thought to have gone with my Lord Brouncker to Mr. Hooke this morning betimes; but my Lord is taken ill of the gout, and says his new lodgings have infected him, he never having any symptom of it till now. So walked to Gresham College, to tell Hooke that my Lord

could not come; and so left word, he being abroad. To St. James's, and thence, with the Duke of York, to White Hall, where the Board waited on him all the morning: and so at noon with Sir Thomas Allen, and Sir Edward Scott,[1] and Lord Carlingford,[2] to the Spanish Embassador's, where I dined the first time. The Olio not so good as Sheres's. There was at the table himself and a Spanish Countess, a good, comely, and witty lady—three Fathers and us. Discourse good and pleasant. And here was an Oxford scholar in a Doctor of Law's gowne, sent from the College where the Embassador lay, when the Court was there, to salute him before his return to Spain. This man, though a gentle sort of scholar, yet sat like a fool for want of French or Spanish, but knew only Latin, which he spoke like an Englishman,[3] to one of the Fathers. And by and by he and I to talk, and the company very merry at my defending Cambridge against Oxford: and I made much use of my French and Spanish here, to my great content. But the dinner not extraordinary at all, either for quantity or quality. Thence home to my wife, and she read to me the Epistle of Cassandra,[4] which is very good indeed; and the better to her, because recommended by Sheres. So to supper, and to bed.

6th. Up, and by coach to Sir W. Coventry's, but he gone out. I by water back to the Office, and there all the morning; then to dinner, and then to the Office again, and anon with my wife by coach to take the ayre, it being a noble day, as far as the Greene Man, mightily pleased with our journey, and our condition of doing it in our own coach, and so home, and to walk in the garden, and so to supper and to bed, my eyes being bad with writing my journal, part of it, to-night.

[1] Sir Edward Scott, made LL.D. at Oxford, 1677.

[2] See vol. i., p. 299.

[3] i.e., with the English pronunciation.

[4] See p. 41, *ante*.

7th. Up, and by coach to Sir W. Coventry's; and there to talk with him a great deal with great content; and so to the Duke of York, having a great mind to speak to him about Tangier; but, when I came to it, his interest for my Lord Middleton is such that I dared not. I passed by Guildhall, which is almost finished, and saw a poor labourer carried by, I think, dead, with a fall, as many there are, I hear. To see my Lord Brouncker, who is a little ill of the gout; and there Madam Williams told me that she heard that my wife was going into France this year, which I did not deny, if I can get time, and I pray God I may. But I wondering how she come to know it, she tells me a woman that my wife spoke to for a maid, did tell her so, and that a lady that desires to go thither, would be glad to go in her company. Thence with my wife abroad, with our coach, most pleasant weather; and to Hackney, and into the marshes, where I never was before, and thence round about to Old Ford and Bow. Home, and there met with a letter from Captain Silas Taylor, and, with it, his written copy of a play that he hath wrote, and intends to have acted. It is called "The Serenade, or, Disappointment," which I will read, not believing he can make any good of that kind. He did once offer to shew Harris it, but Harris told him that he would judge by one Act whether it were good or no, which is indeed a foolish saying, and we see them out themselves in the choice of a play after they have read the whole, it being sometimes not fit to act above three times; nay, and some that have been refused at one house, is found a good one at the other. This made Taylor say he would not shew it him, but is angry, and hath carried it to the other house, and he thinks it will be acted there, though he tells me they are not yet agreed upon it. But I will find time to get it read to me, and I did get my wife to begin a little to-night in the garden, but not so much as I could make my judgment of it.

8th. Up, and to the Office, and there comes Lead to me, and at last my vizards are done, and glasses got to put in and out, as I will; and I think I have brought it to the utmost, both for easiness of using and benefit, that I can; and so I paid him 15*s.* for what he hath done now last, in the finishing them, and they, I hope, will do me a great deal of ease. At the Office all the morning, and this day, the first time, did alter my side of the table, after above eight years sitting on that next the fire. But now I am not able to bear the light of the windows in my eyes, I do begin there, and I did sit with much more content than I had done on the other side for a great while, and in winter the fire will not trouble my back. After dinner, all the afternoon within, with Mr. Hater, Gibson, and W. Hewer, reading over and drawing up new things in the Instructions of Commanders, which will be good, and I hope to get them confirmed by the Duke of York, though I perceive nothing will effectually perfect them but to look over the whole body of the Instructions, of all the Officers of a ship, and make them all perfect together. This being done, comes my bookseller, and brings me home my collection of papers, about my Addresse to the Duke of York in August, bound, which makes me glad, it being that which shall do me more right many years hence than, perhaps, all I ever did in my life: and therefore I do, both for my own and the King's sake, value it much. By and by also comes Browne, the mathematical instrument-maker, and brings me home my instrument for perspective, made according to the description of Dr. Wren's, in the late Transactions; and he hath made it, I think, very well, and that, that I believe will do the thing, and therein gives me great content; but I have, I fear, all the content that must be received by my eyes, which are almost lost.

9th. (Lord's-day.) Up; and, after dressing in my best suit with gold trimming, to the Office; and, when church-time, to Church with my wife. Dr. Mills preached a dull

sermon, and so we home to dinner; and thence by coach to St. Andrew's, Holborne, thinking to have heard Dr. Stillingfleete preach, but we could not get a place, and so to St. Margaret's, Westminster, and there heard a sermon, and did get a place, the first we have heard there these many years. Thence towards the Park, but too soon to go in, so went on to Knightsbridge, and there eat and drank at "The World's End," where we had good things, and then back to the Park, and there till night, being fine weather, and much company, and so home. This day I first left off both my waistcoats by day, and my waistcoat by night, it being very hot weather, so hot as to make me break out, here and there, in my hands, which vexes me to see, but is good for me.

10th. Troubled, about three in the morning, with my wife's calling her maid up, and rising herself, to go with her coach abroad, to gather May-dew,[1] which she did, and I troubled for it, for fear of any hurt, going abroad so betimes, happening to her; but I to sleep again, and she come home about six. To White Hall, where the Duke of York met the Office, and there discoursed of several things, particularly the Instructions of Commanders of ships. But here happened by chance a discourse of the Council of Trade, against which the Duke of York is mightily displeased, and particularly Mr. Child, against whom he, speaking hardly, Captain Cox did second the Duke of York, by saying that he was talked of for an unfair dealer with masters of ships, about freight: to which Sir T. Littleton very hotly and foolishly replied presently, that he never heard any honest man speak ill of Child; to

[1] If we are to credit the following paragraph, extracted from the "Morning Post" of 2d May, 1791, the virtues of May dew were then still held in some estimation; for it records that, "on the day preceding, according to annual and superstitious custom, a number of persons went into the fields and bathed their faces with the dew on the grass, under the idea that it would render them beautiful."—Hone's *Every Day Book*, vol. ii., p. 611.

which the Duke of York did make a smart reply, and was angry; so as I was sorry to hear it come so far, and that I, by seeming to assent to Cox, might be observed too much by Littleton, though I said nothing aloud, for this must breed great heart-burnings. After this meeting done, the Duke of York took the Treasurers into his closet to chide them, as Mr. Wren tells me; for that my Lord Keeper did last night at the Council say, when nobody was ready to say any thing against the constitution of the Navy, that he did believe the Treasurers of the Navy had something to say, which was very foul on their part, to be parties against us. They being gone, Mr. Wren and I took boat, thinking to dine with my Lord of Canterbury; but, when we came to Lambeth, the gate was shut, which is strictly done at twelve o'clock, and nobody comes in afterwards; so we lost our labour, and therefore back to White Hall, and thence walked to my Lord Crewe, whom I have not seen since he was sick, which is eight months ago, I think, and there dined with him: he is mightily broke. A stranger, a country gentleman, was with him: and he pleased with my discourse accidentally about the decay of gentlemen's families in the country, telling us that the old rule was, that a family might remain fifty miles from London one hundred years, one hundred miles from London two hundred years, and so farther or nearer London more or less years. He also told us that he hath heard his father say, that in his time it was so rare for a country gentleman to come to London, that, when he did come, he used to make his will before he set out. Thence to St. James's, and there met the Duke of York, who told me, with great content, that he did now think he should master our adversaries, for that the King did tell him that he was satisfied in the constitution of the Navy, but that it was well to give these people leave to object against it, which they having not done, he did give order to give warrant to the Duke of York, to direct Sir Jeremy Smith to be a Commissioner of

the Navy in the room of Pen; which, though he be an impertinent fellow, yet I am glad of it, it showing that the other side is not so strong as it was: and so, in plain terms, the Duke of York did tell me, that they were every day losing ground; and particularly that he would take care to keep out Child: at all which I am glad, though yet I dare not think myself secure, as the King may yet be wrought upon by these people to bring changes in our Office, and remove us, ere it be long. To White Hall, to a Committee of Tangier, where I see all things going to rack in the business of the Corporation, and consequently in the place, by Middleton's going. Thence walked a little with Creed, who tells me he hears how fine my horses and coach are, and advises me to avoid being noted for it, which I was vexed to hear taken notice of, being what I feared: and Povy told me of my gold-laced sleeves in the Park yesterday, which vexed me also, so as to resolve never to appear in Court with them, but presently to have them taken off, as it is fit I should, and so called at my tailor's for that purpose.

11th. My wife again up by four o'clock, to go to gather May-dew; and so back home by seven, to bed. In the evening my wife and I all alone, with but the boy, by water, up as high as Putny almost, with the tide, and back again, neither staying, going nor coming; but talking, and singing, and reading a foolish copy of verses upon my Lord Mayor's entertaining of all the bachelors, designed in praise to my Lord Mayor. Some trouble at Court for fear of the Queene's miscarrying; she being, as they all conclude, far gone with child.

12th. To Westminster Hall; and there by chance met Roger Pepys, who come to town the last night: I was glad to see him. After some talk with him and others; and among others Sir Charles Harbord and Sidney Montagu, the latter of whom is to set out to-morrow towards Flanders and Italy, I invited them to dine with me to-

morrow. After dinner, my wife and I to the Duke of York's playhouse, and there, in the side balcony, over against the musick, did hear, but not see, a new play, the first day acted, "The Roman Virgin,"[1] an old play, and but ordinary, I thought, but the trouble of my eyes with the light of the candles did almost kill me. Thence to my Lord Sandwich's, and there had a promise from Sidney to come and dine with me to-morrow; and so my wife and I home in our coach, and there find my brother John, as I looked for, come to town from Ellington,[2] where, among other things, he tells me the first news that my sister Jackson is with child, and far gone, which I know not whether it did more trouble or please me, having no great care for my friends to have children, though I love other people's. So, glad to see him, we to supper, and so to bed.

13th. At noon comes my Lord Hinchingbroke, and Sidney, and Sir Charles Harbord, and Roger Pepys, and dined with me; and had a good dinner, and very merry with us, all the afternoon, it being a farewell to Sidney; and so in the evening they away, and I to my business at the Office, and so to supper, and talk with my brother, and so to bed.

14th. At noon with Mr. Wren, to Lambeth, to dinner with the Archbishop of Canterbury; the first time I was ever there, and I have long longed for it: where a noble house, and well furnished with good pictures and furniture, and noble attendance in good order, and a great deal of company, though an ordinary day; and exceeding great cheer, no where better, or so much, that ever I think I saw, for an ordinary table: and the Bishop mighty kind to me particularly, desiring my company another time, when less company there. Most of the company gone, and I going,

[1] A Tragedy, altered by Thomas Betterton, from Webster's *Appius and Virginia*.

[2] In Huntingdonshire, the residence of Pepys's brother-in-law, Mr. Jackson.

I heard by a gentleman of a sermon that was to be there; and so I staid to hear it, thinking it serious, till by and by the gentleman told me it was a mockery, by one Cornet Bolton, a very gentleman-like man, that behind a chair did pray and preach like a Presbyter Scot, with all the possible imitation in grimaces and voice. And his text about the hanging up their harps upon the willows: and a serious good sermon too, exclaiming against Bishops, and crying up of my good Lord Eglington,[1] till it made us all burst; but I did wonder to have the Bishop at this time to make himself sport with things of this kind, but I perceive it was shown him as a rarity; and he took care to have the room-door shut, but there were about twenty gentlemen there, and myself, infinitely pleased with the novelty. So over to White Hall, to a little Committee of Tangier; and thence walking in the Gallery, I met Sir Thomas Osborne, who, to my great content, did of his own accord fall into discourse with me, with such professions of value and respect, placing the whole virtue of the Office of the Navy upon me, and that for the Comptroller's place, no man in England was fit for it but me, when Sir J. Minnes, as he says it is necessary, is removed: but then he knows not what to do for a man in my place; and in discourse, though I have no mind to the other, I did bring in Tom Hater to be the fittest man in the world for it, which he took good notice of. But in the whole I was mightily pleased, reckoning myself fifty per cent. securer in my

[1] The person here alluded to is probably Alexander Montgomery, the sixth Earl of Eglintoun, called Greysteel, who was a rank Presbyterian, and a ruling Elder of the General Assembly, when the solemn League and Covenant were drawn up. He fought against Charles at Marston Moor, whilst his son and successor was in the King's army; but he afterwards became a Royalist, and died in 1661, æt. 73. The son was a consistent supporter of Monarchy, and there seems no reason why he should have been made an object of satire. His death occurred only two months before the unseemly scene at Lambeth.

place than I did before think myself to be. Thence to Unthanke's, and there find my wife, but not dressed, which vexed me, because of going to the Park, it being a most pleasant day after yesterday's rain, which lays all the dust, and most people going out thither, which vexed me. So home, sullen; but then my wife and I by water, with my brother, as high as Fulham, talking and singing, and playing the rogue with the Western bargemen, about the women of Woolwich, which mads them.

15th. Up, and at the Office all the morning. Dined at home, and Creed with me, and I did discourse about evening some reckonings with him in the afternoon; but I could not, for my eyes, do it, which troubled me, and vexed him that I would not; but yet we were friends, I advancing him money without it, and so to walk all the afternoon together in the garden; and I perceive that he do expect a change in our matters, especially as to religion, and fits himself for it by professing himself for it in his discourse.[1] He gone, I to my business at the Office, and so at night home to supper, and to bed.

16th. My wife and I at Church, our pew filled with Mrs. Backewell and six more that she brought with her, which vexed me at her confidence. I all the afternoon drawing up a foul draught of my petition to the Duke of York, about my eyes, for leave to spend three or four months out of the Office, drawing it so as to give occasion to a voyage abroad, which I did, to my pretty good liking; and then with my wife to Hyde Park, where a good deal of company, and good weather.

17th. My wife and I and brother John by coach to the King's playhouse, and saw "The Spanish Curate" revived, which is a pretty good play, but my eyes troubled with seeing it, mightily. Great news now of the French taking St. Domingo,[2] in Spaniola, from the Spaniards, which

[1] See p. 166, *ante*.

[2] St. Domingo, on the southern coast of Hispaniola, the oldest

troubles us, that they should have got it, and have the honour of taking it, when we could not.

18th. Dined in my wife's chamber, she being much troubled with the tooth-ake, and I staid till a surgeon of her's come, one Leeson, who had formerly drawn her mouth, and he advised her to draw it: so I to the Office, and by and by word is come that she hath drawn it, which pleased me, it being well done. So I home, to comfort her.

19th. With my coach to St. James's; and there finding the Duke of York gone to muster his men, in Hyde Park, I alone with my boy thither, and there saw more, walking out of my coach as other gentlemen did, of a soldier's trade, than ever I did in my life: the men being mighty fine, and their Commanders, particularly the Duke of Monmouth; but methought their trade but very easy as to the mustering of their men, and the men but indifferently ready to perform what was commanded, in the handling of their arms. Here the news was first talked of Harry Killigrew's being wounded in nine places last night, by footmen, in the highway, going from the Park in a hackney-coach towards Hammersmith, to his house at Turnham Greene: they being supposed to be my Lady Shrewsbury's men, she being by, in her coach with six horses; upon an old grudge of his saying openly that he had intrigued with her. Thence by and by to White Hall, and there I waited upon the King and Queene all dinner-time, in the Queene's lodgings, she being in her white pinner, and appearing like a woman with child; and she seemed handsomer plain so, than when dressed. And by and by, dinner done, I out, and to walk in the Gallery, for the Duke of York's coming out; and there, meeting Mr. May, he took me down about four o'clock to Mr.

European establishment in America, was founded by Columbus in 1504. A town named Isabella had been built in 1493, on the northern coast, but it was afterwards abandoned.

Cheffinch's lodgings, and all alone did get me a dish of cold chickens, and good wine; and I dined like a prince, being before very hungry and empty. By and by the Duke of York comes, and readily took me to his closet, and received my petition, and discoursed about my eyes, and pitied me, and with much kindness did give me his consent to be absent, and approved of my proposition to go into Holland to observe things there, of the Navy; but would first ask the King's leave, which he anon did, and did tell me that the King would be a good master to me, these were his words, about my eyes, and do like of my going into Holland, but do advise that nobody should know of my going thither, and that I should pretend to go into the country somewhere, which I liked well. In discourse this afternoon, the Duke of York did tell me that he was the most amazed at one thing just now, that ever he was in his life, which was, that the Duke of Buckingham did just now come into the Queene's bedchamber, where the King was, with much mixed company, and, among others, Tom Killigrew, the father of Harry, who was last night wounded so as to be in danger of death, and his man is quite dead; and Buckingham there did say that he had spoke with some one that was by, which person all the world must know must be his mistress, my Lady Shrewsbury, who says that they did not mean to hurt, but beat him, and that he did run first at them with his sword; so that he do hereby clearly discover that he knows who did it, and is of conspiracy with them, being of known conspiracy with her, which the Duke of York did seem to be pleased with, and said it might, perhaps, cost him his life in the House of Lords: and I find was mightily pleased with it, saying it was the most impudent thing, as well as the most foolish, that ever he knew man do in all his life.

20th. Up and to the Office. At noon, the whole Office —Brouncker, J. Minnes, T. Middleton, Samuel Pepys, and

Captain Cox to dine with the Parish, at the Three Tuns, this day being Ascension-day, where exceeding good discourse among the merchants. With my eyes mighty weary, and my head full of care how to get my accounts and business settled against my journey, home to supper, and to bed. Yesterday, at my coming home, I found that my wife had, on a sudden, put away Matt upon some falling out, and I doubt Matt did call her ill names by my wife's own discourse; but I did not meddle to say anything upon it, but let her go, being not sorry, because now we may get one that speaks French, to go abroad with us.

21st. I waited with the Office upon the Duke of York, in the morning. Dined at home, where Lewis Phillips, with a friend of his, dined with me. In the afternoon at the Office. In the evening visited by Roger Pepys and Philip Packer; and so home.

23rd. (Lord's-day.) Called up by Roger Pepys and his son, who to Church with me, and then in the afternoon carried them to Westminster, and myself to St. James's, where, not finding the Duke of York, back home, and with my wife spent the evening taking the ayre about Hackney, with great pleasure.

24th. To White Hall, where I attended the Duke of York, and was by him led to the King,[1] who expressed great sense of my misfortune in my eyes, and concernment for their recovery; and accordingly signified, not only his assent to my desire therein, but commanded me to give them rest this summer, according to my late petition to the Duke of York. W. Hewer and I dined alone at the Swan; and thence, having thus waited on the King, spent till four o'clock in St. James's Park, when I met my wife at Unthanke's, and so home.

[1] It seems doubtful whether the expression of being *led* to the King has any reference to the defective state of Pepys's vision. Perhaps, he might wish to make the most of this infirmity, in the hope of strengthening his claim for leave of absence.

25th. Dined at home; and the rest of the day, morning and afternoon, at the Office.

26th. To White Hall, where all the morning. Dined with Mr. Cheffinch, with Alderman Backewell, and Spragg. The Court full of the news from Captain Hubbert, of "The Milford," touching his being affronted in the Streights, shot at, and having eight of his men killed by a French man-of-war, calling him "English dog," and commanding him to strike, which he refused, and, as knowing himself much too weak for him, made away from him. The Queen, as being supposed with child, fell ill, so as to call for Madam Nun, Mr. Cheffinch's sister, and one of her women, from dinner from us; this being the last day of her doubtfulness touching her being with child; and they were therein well confirmed by her Majesty's being well again before night. One Sir Edmund Bury Godfry,[1] a woodmonger and Justice of Peace in Westminster, having two days since arrested Sir Alexander Frazier[2] for about £30 in firing, the bailiffs were apprehended, committed to the porter's lodge, and there, by the King's command, the last night severely whipped; from which the Justice himself very hardly escaped, to such an unusual degree was the King moved therein. But he lies now in the lodge, justifying his act, as grounded upon the opinion of several of the Judges, and, among others, my Lord Chief-Justice; which makes the King very angry with the Chief-Justice, as they say; and the Justice do lie and justify his act, and says he will suffer in the cause for

[1] The history of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey is too well known to require any comment, though his tragical end has never been satisfactorily made out. In the "Gentleman's Magazine" for October, 1848, there are some interesting details about the Knight's family, and a description and plate of a silver cup, which seems to have been presented to him by the King for his important services during the Plague and Fire of London, and is now in the possession of the Corporation of Sudbury.

[2] One of the King's physicians.

the people, and do refuse to receive almost any nutriment. The effects of it may be bad to the Court.

27th. Presented this day by Mr. Browne with a book of drawing by him, lately printed,[1] which cost me 20*s.*, to him. In the afternoon to the Temple, to meet with Auditor Aldworth,[2] about my interest account, but failed of meeting him. To visit my cousin Creed, and found her ill at home, being with child, and looks poorly. Thence to her husband, at Gresham College, upon some occasions of Tangier; and so home, with Sir John Bankes with me, to Mark Lane.

28th. To St. James's, where the King's being with the Duke of York prevented a meeting of the Tangier Commission. But, Lord! what a deal of sorry discourse did I hear between the King and several Lords about him here! but very mean, methought. So with Creed to the Excise-Office, and back to White Hall, where, in the Park, Sir G. Carteret did give an account of his discourse lately, with the Commissioners of Accounts, who except against many things, but none that I find considerable; among others, that of the Officers of the Navy selling of the King's goods, and particularly my providing him with calico flags, which having been by order, and but once, when necessity, and the King's apparent profit, justified it, as conformable to my particular duty, it will prove to my

[1] A curious and uncommon book, entitled "A Compendious Drawing Book, composed by *Alexander Browne*, limner, collected from the drawings of the most celebrated painters in Europe, engraven by Arnold de Jode." A second edition with letter-press, and additions, was published in 1675, under the title of "Ars Pictoria."

[2] Richard Aldworth, of Stanlake, Berks, then one of the Auditors of the Exchequer, represented Reading in the first Parliament after the Restoration, and died in 1680. He was the paternal ancestor of the second and third Lords Braybrooke. In 1762, the Auditor's grandson, Richard Neville Aldworth, succeeded to the estates of the Nevilles of Billingbear, in Berkshire, in right of his mother, who was their sole heir, and whose maiden name he assumed.

advantage that it be enquired into. Nevertheless, having this morning received from them a demand of an account of all monies within their cognizance, received and issued by me, I was willing, upon this hint, to give myself rest, by knowing whether their meaning therein might reach only to my Treasurership for Tangier, or the monies employed on this occasion. I went, therefore, to them this afternoon, to understand what monies they meant, where they answered me, by saying, "The eleven months' tax, customs, and prize-money," without mentioning, any more than I demanding, the service they respected therein: and so, without further discourse, we parted, upon very good terms of respect, and with few words, but my mind not fully satisfied about the monies they mean. With my wife and brother spent the evening on the water, carrying our supper with us, as high as Chelsea, making sport with the Westerne bargees, and my wife and I singing, to my great content.

29th. The King's birth-day. To White Hall, where all very gay; and particularly the Prince of Tuscany very fine, and is the first day of his appearing out of mourning, since he came. I heard the Bishop of Peterborough[1] preach but dully; but a good anthem of Pelham's. Home to dinner, and then with my wife to Hyde Park, where all the evening: great store of company, and great preparations by the Prince of Tuscany to celebrate the night with fire-works, for the King's birth-day. And so home.

30th. (Whitsunday.) By water to White Hall, and thence to Sir W. Coventry, where all the morning by his bed-side, he being indisposed. Our discourse was upon the notes I have lately prepared for Commanders' Instructions; but concluded that nothing will render them effectual, without an amendment in the choice of them, that they be seamen, and not gentlemen above the command of the Admiral, by the greatness of their relations

[1] Joseph Henshaw: ob. 1678.

at Court. Thence to White Hall, and dined with Mr. Cheffinch and his sister: whither by and by came in Mr. Progers and Sir Thomas Allen, and by and by, fine Mrs. Wells,[1] who is a great beauty; and there I had my full gaze upon her, to my great content, she being a woman of pretty conversation. Thence to the Duke of York, who, with the officers of the Navy, made a good entrance on my draught of my new Instructions to Commanders, as well expressing his general views of a reformation among them, as liking of my humble offers towards it. Thence being called by my wife, we to the Park, whence the rain sent us suddenly home.

31st. Up very betimes, and continued all the morning with W. Hewer, upon examining and stating my accounts, in order to the fitting myself to go abroad beyond sea, which the ill condition of my eyes, and my neglect for a year or two, hath kept me behind-hand in, and so as to render it very difficult now, and troublesome to my mind to do it; but I this day made a satisfactory entrance therein. Had another meeting with the Duke of York, at White Hall, on yesterday's work, and made a good advance: and so, being called by my wife, we to the Park, Mary Batelier, and a Dutch gentleman, a friend of hers, being with us. Thence to "The World's End," a drinking-house by the Park; and there merry, and so home late.

And thus ends all that I doubt I shall ever be able to do with my own eyes in the keeping of my Journall, I being not able to do it any longer, having done now so long as to undo my eyes almost every time that I take a pen in my hand; and, therefore, whatever comes of it, I must forbear: and, therefore, resolve, from this time forward, to have it kept by my people in long-hand, and must be contented to set down no more than is fit for them and all the world to know; or, if there be any thing, I must endeavour to keep a margin in my book open, to

[1] See vol. i., p. 415.

add, here and there, a note in short-hand with my own hand.

And so I betake myself to that course, which is almost as much as to see myself go into my grave: for which, and all the discomforts that will accompany my being blind, the good God prepare me!

S. P.

May 31, 1669.

END OF THE DIARY.

ADDENDA TO THE DIARY.

Since the first volume was published, communications have poured in upon me from various quarters, illustrative of obscure passages in the Diary, and containing notices of persons not previously identified, together with much general information. I need not say how gladly and gratefully I availed myself of this welcome assistance, by which I have been enabled to settle many disputed points, and to improve and amplify the foot-notes as the work proceeded. Unfortunately, much valuable matter arrived too late for insertion in the proper place: I have therefore felt it my duty to print a few pages of "Addenda" at the end of the Diary, in which the new contributions are chronologically arranged, and reference is duly made to the entries to which they relate. I have also taken the opportunity of correcting such errors as have been discovered, and for which, as the number of the notes exceeds fifteen hundred, I may reasonably claim the reader's indulgence.

It remains for me to express my best thanks to John Payne Collier, Esq., F.A.S., whose knowledge of the drama proved of essential service; to Sir C. G. Young, Garter; Albert Way, Esq.; J. H. Markland, Esq., of Bath; William Twopenny, Esq.; Thomas Oliphant, Esq., Secretary of the Madrigal Society; and George S. Steinman, Esq., for the kindness and zeal which they evinced in aiding my researches.

BRAYBROOKE.

LIFE.

VOL. IV.

Page 428, line 14.

The best account of Mrs. Pepys's parentage is contained in a letter, addressed by Balthazar St. Michel to Pepys, 8th February, 1673–4, on the subject of his deceased sister's religious tenets. We learn from this paper that they were the grandchildren of the High Sheriff of Anjou, in France, all of whose family were rigid Papists, and who disinherited his son, then in the German military service, and about twenty-one years of age, upon hearing of his having been converted to Protestantism, and persuaded his brother, a rich French Chanoine, to alter the disposition that he had made in favour of his nephew. The youth being thus deprived of any fortune, came over to England as gentleman-carver to Queen Henrietta Maria, from which office he was dismissed for striking a friar, who had rebuked him for absenting himself from mass. He shortly after married the widow of an Irish esquire, described as the daughter of Sir Francis Kingsmill; and he seems to have resided with his wife at or near Biddeford, in Devon, where Mrs. Pepys was born. At a later period, St. Michel served against the Spaniards, at the taking of Dunkirk and Arras; and settling at Paris, in indigent circumstances, he was exposed to new difficulties: for, during his absence from home, some "deluding Papists" and "pretended Devouts," (as the young Balthazar describes them) having promised to provide for the family, inveigled his wife and two children into a Roman Catholic establishment, whence the future Mrs. Pepys, then only twelve or thirteen years old, and "extreme handsome," was removed into "the Ursulines," which was considered the strictest convent in Paris. They were, however, all rescued by Mrs. St. Michel, who was almost distracted at what had occurred, and removed his family to England,

where his daughter's marriage took place, though we are not told how she became acquainted with Pepys.

Page 435, line 1.

The attempt to connect Pepys with the murder of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey, by bringing his clerk, Samuel Atkins, to trial, and thereby to implicate the Duke of York, is noticed in North's *Examen*, p. 248. In the same place, Pepys, in 1678, though then only forty-five years of age, is described as an "elderly gentleman, who had known softness and the pleasures of life." The proceedings against Atkins are fearful; the Spanish Inquisition could not have been a more wicked tribunal.

Page 446.—Note.

Mr. Jackson did not die unmarried. His wife was Anne, daughter of the Rev. James Edgeley, Vicar of Wandsworth, by Anne, daughter of —— Blackburne William Hewer's uncle, often mentioned in the Diary. Mr. Jackson left two sons (at whose death, *s. p.*, the male line became extinct) and five daughters, the youngest of whom married John Cockerell, of Bishop's Hall, Somerset. For an account of their descendants, see the pedigree of Pepys.

DIARY.

VOL. I.

Page 2, Note 2.

Sir George Downing's character will be found in Lord Clarendon's Life, vol. iii., p. 4. Pepys's opinion of him seems to be somewhat of a doubtful kind.

Page 6, Note 1.

In a book of *Signs Manual*, in the Pepysian Library, John Pepys is described as "my brother and successor in my Office, as Clerk of the Acts of the Navy, under King Charles II., wherein he dyed March 1676–7."

Page 6, line 28.

Henry Elsinge was Scobell's predecessor, as Clerk of the Parliament.

Page 8, Note 6.

Colonel Morley was the person whom Evelyn blames so strongly for not taking those steps, by the adoption of which Monk brought about the Restoration.—See also *Quarterly Review*, vol. xix., p. 32

Page 10, line 5.

Washington was a Purser: see p. 94, *post.*

Page 11, line 5.

Pepys's salary was £50: see p. 15.

Page 11, line 7.

Nieuport was the Dutch ambassador.

Page 12, line 4.

Several old views represent the book-stalls at Westminster Hall existing in Pepys's day.

Page 12, Note 2.

James Pierce, here mentioned, was the husband of the pretty Mrs. Pierce admired by Pepys.

Page 13, line 26.

Characters were ciphers used for secret correspondence.

Page 17, line 16.

The importance attached by Pepys throughout the Diary to dress, was evidently more than vanity; and perhaps he inherited it from his father, the tailor.

Page 19, line 12.

John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, whose life has been written by Knight, was the founder of St. Paul's School.

Page 20, Note. 3.

There is a good account of Sackville College in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December, 1848.

Page 22, Note 3.

Scott, before his execution, desired to have it written on his tombstone, "Thomas Scott, who adjudged to death the late King."

Page 24, line 2.

Joseph Kirton was a bookseller in St. Paul's churchyard, at the sign of "The King's Arms." His death, in October, 1667, is recorded in Smith's *Obituary*, recently printed for the Camden Society.

Page 24, line 26.

Sir H. Vane had married Frances, daughter of Sir Christopher Wray, of Ashby, Lincolnshire, Bart.

Page 27, Note 1.

Not the celebrated musician, Henry Purcell, who was only born in 1658; but his father.

Ibid., line 13.

The members for the city were Richard Brown, William Wilde, John Robinson, and William Vincent.

Page 27, Note 4.

Richard Brown was created a Baronet, and his son was knighted on the same day. They must not be confounded with Evelyn's father-in-law, of the same names.

Page 28, line 26.

Hinchingbrooke House, so often mentioned in the Diary, stood about half a mile to the westward of the town of Huntingdon. It was erected late in the reign of Elizabeth, by Sir Henry Cromwell, on the site of a Benedictine nunnery, granted at the Dissolution, with all its appurtenances, to his father, Richard Williams, who had assumed the name of Cromwell, and whose grandson, Sir Oliver, was the uncle and godfather of the Protector. The knight, who was renowned for his hospitality, had the honour of entertaining King James at Hinchingbrooke, but getting into pecuniary difficulties, was obliged to sell his estates,

which were conveyed, 28th July, 1627, to Sir Sidney Montagu, of Barnwell, father of the first Earl of Sandwich, in whose descendant they are still vested. On the morning of the 22nd January, 1830, during the minority of the seventh Earl, Hinchingbrooke was almost entirely destroyed by fire, but the pictures and furniture were mostly saved, and the house has been rebuilt in the Elizabethan style, and the interior greatly improved, under the direction of Edward Blore, Esq., R.A.

Page 36, add to Note 2.

The Dog Tavern here referred to must have been in Westminster, though a house in Holywell Street still bears the same denomination.

Page 38, line 28.

The Great Exchange, so called during the Commonwealth, in lieu of Royal.

Page 46, line 4.

The castles were Walmer, Sandgate Sandwich, Deal, and Dover.

Page 60, line 19. Leuthropp.

Sir Thomas Leventhorpe, Bart., married Mary, daughter of Sir Capell Bedell, Bart : ob. 1671.

Page 63, line 1.

Robert and Edward Bertie, two of the surviving sons of Robert, first Earl of Lindsay, killed at Edgehill. Their mother was Elizabeth, only child of Edward, first Lord Montagu of Boughton : they were, therefore, nearly connected with Sir E. Montagu, and with Pepys, in some degree.

Page 63, line 2.

Dormer Hay may be rather Thomas Dalmahoy, who had married the Duchess Dowager of Hamilton : see (*infra*) Speaker Onslow's note to Burnet. The husband of the loyal Duchess would be naturally one of the first to welcome the King ; and Onslow says he was in the interest

of the Duke of York :—" Lord Middleton retired, after his disgrace, to the Friary, near Guildford, to one Dalmahoy there, a genteel, generous man, who was of Scotland ; had been Gentleman of the Horse to William Duke of Hamilton (killed at the battle of Worcester) ; married that Duke's widow ; and by her had this house, &c. This man, Dalmahoy, being much in the interest of the Duke of York, and a man to be relied upon, and long a candidate for the town of Guildford, at the election of the Parliament afterthe long one, in 1678, and being opposed, I think, by the famous Algernon Sydney, the Duke of York came from Windsor to Dalmahoy's house, to countenance his election, and appeared for him in the open court, when the election was taken."—Note to Burnet's *O. T.*, vol. i., p. 350.

Page 64, line 12.

No doubt, because Charles II. objected to the arms used during the Protectorate.

Page 68, Note 1.

" Beyond the Victualling Office, on the same side of the High Street, at Rochester, is an old mansion, now occupied by a Mr. Morson, an attorney, which formerly belonged to the Petts, the celebrated ship-builders. The chimney-piece in the principal room is of wood curiously carved, the upper part being divided into compartments by caryatydes. The central compartment contains the family arms, viz., *Or*, on a fesse *gu.*, between three pellets, a lion passant gardant of the field. On the back of the grate is a cast of Neptune, standing erect in his car, with Tritons blowing conches, &c., and the date 1650."—*Hist. of Rochester*, p. 337, ed. 1817.

Page 69, line 10.

Andrew Marvell, speaking of the poor condition, for clothes and money, in which the King was at this time, observes—

"At length, by wonderful impulse of Fate,
The people call him back to help the State;
And what is more, they send him money, too,
And clothe him all from head to foot anew."

Page 69, line 14.

A picture, in which this scene is well treated, by Mr. W. Carpenter, was lately exhibited at the Royal Academy.

Page 74, Note 1.

By G. Penn, *General* Penn is intended, and not his brother George, as stated in the note.

Pages 79, 80, add to Note 1.

See an account of Sir W. Batten's second wife, in Note 4, p. 135; and of his illness and death, in October, 1667. He had a son, Benjamin, and two daughters, by his first lady, all mentioned in the Diary.

Page 85, line 8.

In the "Notices of Popular Histories," recently printed for the Percy Society, there is a curious woodcut, representing the interior of a barber's shop, in which, according to the old custom, the person waiting to be shaved is playing on the "ghittern" till his turn arrives. Decker also mentions a "barber's cittern," for every serving-man to play upon. This is no doubt "The barber's music" with which Lord Sandwich entertained himself.

Page 87, line 7.

"Major," although in the Navy. Thus Lord Sandwich and Sir W. Pen were called "Generals:" see also p. 266, line 10.

Page 97, Note 2.

Fairbrother was taken prisoner at the battle of Naseby, whilst fighting on the King's side, and was sent to London.—Coles' MSS., vol. 15, p. 122.

Page 98, line 9.

Nan Hartlib was sister to Samuel Hartlib.

Page 98, line 10. Roder.

Afterwards knighted, as Sir John Roder : see p. 106, line 28. Le Neve calls him Roth, and says he was of Utrecht.

Ibid., Note 3.

The magnificence of Goring House is fully described by Evelyn, and its destruction by fire. The title of its owner is preserved in Arlington Street.

Page 102, line 26.

Still known as New Street, in which is the Queen's Printing Office.

Page 104, line 20.

Some clocks are still made with a small ball, or bullet, on an inclined plane, which turns every minute. The King's clock probably dropped bullets.

Ibid., line 27.

Campden House, in the parish of Kensington, was built in 1612 by Sir Baptist Hickes, afterwards created Viscount Campden, with remainder to his son-in-law, Edward Lord Noel, who succeeded him as owner of the mansion. It was sold at a later period to the Lechmeres, and has since been converted into a ladies' boarding-school.

Page 106, Note 1.

Sir John Robinson retained the Lieutenancy of the Tower till 1678. A portrait of him is at Mr. Vernon Smith's, at Farming Woods, in Bedfordshire.

Page 108, Note 1.

Captain Cooke was one of the original performers in the Siege of Rhodes.

Page 112, line 9.

Melons were hardly known in England till Sir George Gardiner brought one from Spain, when they became in general estimation. The ordinary price was five or six shillings.—*Quarterly Review*, vol. xix., p. 20.

Page 112, Note 3.

This note should be cancelled, as Hart, the actor, was a different person from the Major of the same name.

Page 116, Note 1.

The story is, that Cromwell found White on his knees to his daughter Frances, and that, to save himself, the Chaplain pretended to have been soliciting the young lady's interest with her waiting-woman, a subterfuge which was punished by the Protector's compelling him to marry the maid, instead of the mistress.

Page 118, line 3.

Tea was so scarce in England at this time, that the infusion of it in water was taxed by the gallon, in common with chocolate and sherbet. Two pounds and two ounces were in the same year formally presented to the King, by the East India Company, as a most valuable oblation.—*Quarterly Review*, vol. viii., p. 141.

Page 118.

The sentence from the word "Major," in line 13, to the word "drink," in line 17, should be cancelled, being already printed in its proper place at p. 112.

Ibid., line 24. Reformado.

i.e., a discharged officer from the Royal Charles.

Page 123, line 27.

Afterwards called Alderman Crowe.

Page 125, line 12.

Pepys surely wrote Rooker by mistake, for James Booker, of Manchester, the astrologer, then living, and mentioned in Hudibras, in connexion with Lilly, canto iii., 1093.

Ibid., line 21.

The Duke de Soissons was Eugene Maurice of Savoy, youngest son of Thomas of Savoy, Prince of Carignano, by Marie de Bourbon, Countess of Soissons, whose title he

inherited. He married Olympia Mancini, one of the nieces of Cardinal Mazarin, more than suspected of poisoning practices (like the Brinvilliers). His youngest son was the celebrated General, Prince Eugene of Savoy.

Page 126, line 14.

The Lord Mayor's day, then the 29th October, is now by alteration of the style, November 9th.

Page 131, line 12.

"Montelion, the Prophetical Almanac for the year 1660, 8vo., with a frontispiece, by John Phillips." The Montelions for 1661 and 1662 were written by Flatman. It would appear that Pepys bought the Montelion for 1661, as there had not been one for 1659.—See Lowndes' *Bibl. Manual*, and Watts's *Biblio.*

Ibid., line 15.

"The Rump, or, The Mirror of the Late Times," a Comedy, by John Tatham.

Page 133, line 18.

John Singleton was probably leader of the private band at this time. His name occurs in the list of 1674.

Page 135, line 6.

The Rhenish Wine House was in Channel, now Cannon Row, Westminster, at the end of a passage leading from King Street. There was another in Crooked Lane, see p. 201.

Ibid., line 7.

Wormwood wine was probably similar to the Crême d'Absinthe, a liqueur still much liked in France.

Ibid., Note 4.

The foreigner here mentioned, further noticed in vol. iii., p. 10, was Sir James Barkman Leyenburg, the envoy from Sweden, resident many years in England. His name occurs in *The Intelligencer*, 12th March, 1663–4, as delayed at Stockholm by a fever, though his despatches were

ready. A hostile message appears to have passed between him and Pepys, in November, 1670, but the duel was prevented. Perhaps they quarrelled about the money due from Sir W. Batten to Pepys, for which the widow was liable. See Mr. Wren's letter, November 9th, 1670, in *Correspondence.*

Page 136, line 25.

John Holland was secretary to Sir G. Carteret, then Treasurer of the Navy, and was author of the "Discourse on the Navy," mentioned in vol. iv., p. 126.

Page 138, line 16.

"Artamine, ou, Le Grand Cyrus, par Magdelaine de Scudery," the second of her works.

Page 140, line 27.

Peter Buck, afterwards knighted, and made Secretary to Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, the Lord High Admiral. He is described, in Pepys's Book of *Signs Manual*, as "Clerk of the Acts of the Navy in 1608."

Page 143, line 3.

Sir Thomas Bond was a Roman Catholic; Comptroller of the Household to the Queen Dowager; created a baronet in 1658 by Charles II., to whom, whilst in exile, he had advanced large sums. He died in 1685, and lies buried at Camberwell, in which parish he had purchased an estate at Peckham, and built a house, alienated by his son, Sir Henry, to Chief Justice Trevor.

Page 143, line 27.

Afterwards Sir William Warren, the ship-builder: see vol. iii., p. 309.

Page 149, line 30.

For a contemporary account of the trials and executions of these fanatics, see Somers's *Tracts*, vol. vii., p. 469, Sir W. Scott's ed.

Page 152, line 18.

Mr. Ackworth appears to have held some office in Deptford Yard. He is frequently mentioned.

Page 153, line 27.

Afterwards Sir Roger Cuttance. He was Captain of the "Naseby," rechristened the "Charles." Henry Cuttance was Captain of the "Cheriton, or Speedwell."

Page 157, line 29.

Richard Rooth, Captain of the Dartmouth.

Ibid., line 30.

The Pierces were the surgeon and the purser of the same name.

Page 158, line 35.

"Old" Lady Slingsby was Margaret, daughter of Sir William Water, an alderman of York. She was mother of the Comptroller, widow of Sir Guildford Slingsby, and, perhaps, related to Major Water, Pepys's deaf friend.

Page 165, line 17.

Claude Lamoral, Prince de Ligne, had commanded the Spanish Cavalry in the Low Countries, and was afterwards Viceroy of Sicily, and Governor of Milan. He died at Madrid in 1679. He had married by dispensation his cousin, Maria Clara of Nassau, widow of his brother, Albert Henry, who had died without issue. The Prince de Ligne was Ambassador Extraordinary in 1660: see p. 113. In our time, his descendant, the Prince de Ligne, attended in the same capacity, from the court of Brussels, at the coronation of Queen Victoria.

Page 166, line 5.

"Naufragium Joculare," a Comedy, by Abraham Cowley.

Page 173, line 3.

Lieutenant-Colonel Baron was probably Argal Baron, of Croydon, Lieutenant-Governor of Windsor Castle, and described as a distinguished Royalist.

Page 172, Note 1.

The Red Bull was in St. John's Street, Clerkenwell. It was of an inferior rank to the Globe and Blackfriars Theatres, and was described as

> ——— "that degenerate stage
> Where none of the unturn'd kennel can rehearse
> A line of serious sense."

Page 177, line 35.

Captain Allen's youngest daughter was Rebecca, afterwards married to Lieutenant Jowles: see vol. iii., p. 62.

Page 183, line 11.

Sir R. Slingsby's second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Radclyffe, of Dilston, Northumberland, and widow of Sir William Fenwick, Bart., of Meldon. His first lady was Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Robert Brooke, of Newcells.

Page 187, line 25.

Mary, daughter of Oliver Cromwell, second wife of Thomas, second Viscount Falconberg, afterwards Earl of Falconberg.

Page 190.

See some congratulatory lines on the Coronation by Henry Bold, of New College, Oxford, in Somers's *Tracts*, vol. vii., p. 514, Sir W. Scott's edition.

Page 196, line 11.

Pepys no doubt apprehended that the child's legitimacy might have been questioned.

Page 203, line 12.

Wife of Captain Arthur Browne, Sir W. Batten's brother-in-law: see p. 164 *ante;* and for his death, vol. i., p. 444.

Ibid., line 24.

The wife of Captain, afterwards Sir Joseph, Jordan.

Ibid., line 24.

Robert Shipman bought the great tithes of Waltham-

stow from the Argall family in 1663; and left them by will to his wife Dorothy, from whom they passed in 1667 to Robert Mascall, merchant.

Page 207, Note 3.

The death of the Bishop of Orkney (late of Galloway) is mentioned in "*The Intelligencer*," 29th September 1663.

Page 212, line 18.

A hat (see p. 158, *ante*) cost only 35*s*. See also Lord Sandwich's vexation at his beaver being stolen, and a hat, only left in lieu of it, p. 185, *ante;* and pp. 295 and 298, *post.*

Page 229, line 23.

Lord John Somerset, second son of the first Marquis of Worcester, had himself three sons, Henry, Thomas, and Charles, but it is uncertain which is here meant. There was no other Lord Somerset to whom the passage could apply. It was probably Thomas, as the other brothers were married.

Page 236, line 12.

The manorial court of Graveley, in Huntingdonshire, under which the Pepys' estates were held: see p. 214, *ante.*

Page 239, line 7.

Richard Country, Captain of the Hind, in the fleet at Scheveling.

Page 251, line 8.

Juego de Toro, a bull-fight: see p. 307, *post.*

Page 259, line 32.

See a similar outrage, committed by Captain Ferrers, vol i., p. 354. Swords were usually worn by footmen: see p. 300, *post.*

Page 261, line 31.

Cuttre, in old English, means a swaggerer: hence the

title of the play. It was originally called "The Guardian," when acted before royalty at Cambridge.

Page 263, line 1.

The old custom of carrying the wassail bowl from door to door, with songs and merriment, in Christmas week, is still observed in some of our rural districts.

Page 263, Note 1.

"Bussy D'Ambois," a Tragedy, by George Chapman.

Page 268, line 6.

A game at cards played by three persons, each hand having twelve cards, and the rest being left for the stock.

Page 272, line 13.

The Three Cranes Tavern, in Upper Thames Street.

Page 274, Note 2.

Wanstead, after its forfeiture to the Crown, was given to Sir Robert Brookes; and by him, or his heirs, or creditors, alienated in 1667 to Sir Josiah Childe, ancestor of the Earl Tylney: see vol. ii., p. 170.

Page 277, line 28.

The poetry of the song, "Gaze not on Swans," is by H. Noel, and set to music by H. Lawes, in his "Ayres and Dialogues," 1653.

Page 279, line 5.

The Convertine was a fourth-rate, of 48 guns. In 1665 it was commanded by Captain John Pearce.

Page 280, line 9.

This actress, so called from the character she played in the "Siege of Rhodes," was Elizabeth Davenport. Evelyn saw her on the 10th January, 1661–2, she being soon after taken to be "My Lord Oxford's Miss;" but she returned to the stage within a year: see p. 305, *post.*

Page 283, line 15.

Martin Beckman, many of whose plans are in the British Museum, became Chief Engineer, and was knighted 20th March, 1685.

Page 284, line 11.

The tavern was in Cornhill, where Pope's Head Alley still exists: see p. 319, *post.*

Page 284, Note 1.

Sir J. Hawkins says that Dr. Creighton (the son) died at Wells in 1736, *ætat.* 97.

Page 288, line 20.

Sir John Lewes had been knighted at the Hague, and was afterwards created a Baronet.

Page 306, Note 1.

No play of this name being known, Pepys may have written it by mistake for Dancing-Master.

Ibid., Note 2.

"Love in a Maze" is the second title of Shirley's play of "The Changes."

Page 306, line 19.

The articles of peace between Charles II. and Algiers, concluded 30th August, 1664, by Admiral Thomas Allen, according to instructions from the Duke of York, being the same articles concluded by Sir John Lawson, 23rd April, 1662, and confirmed 10th November following. They are reprinted in Somers's *Tracts*, vol. vii., p. 554, Sir W. Scott's ed.

Page 313, Note 1.

Thomas Povy was one of the sons of Justinian Povy, Auditor-General to Queen Anne of Denmark in 1614, whose father was John Povy, citizen and embroiderer of London. Justinian obtained a grant of arms: *sable,* a bend engrailed between six cinquefoils, *or.*, with an annulet for difference.

Page 319, line 14.

Lea-Bayly is a hamlet in the parish of Newland, Gloucestershire.

Page 322, line 34

Sir W. Penn was Governor of Kinsale.

Page 326, line 12.

The best account of this person is given in his monumental inscription, in Boughton-Malherbe Church :— "Here lies the body of Mr. Daniel O'Neale, who descended from that greate, honoura[ble], and antient family of the O'Neales, in Ireland, to whom he added new luster by his owne merit, being rewarded for his courage and loyalty in the civil warrs, under King Charles the First and Charles the Second, w[th] the offices of Postmaster General of England, Scotland, and Ireland, Master of the Powder, and Groome of his Maj[tyes] Bedchamber. He was married to the right honourable Katherine Countesse of Chesterfeild, who erected him this Monument, as one of the last markes of her kindnesse, to shew her affection longer than her weak breath would serve to express it. He died A.D., 1663, aged 60." The "great O'Neale," whose death Pepys records as having occurred on the 24th October, 1664, many months later, could not be the same person, if the dates are correct.

Page 331, line 8.

The first son whom Lady Castlemaine bore to Charles II. was Charles Fitzroy, born in June, 1662, and afterwards created Duke of Southampton.

Page 336, line 13.

Sir Daniel Harvey is the person alluded to.

Page 337, line 28.

The Savoy Palace, in the Strand, a considerable part of which existed so lately as 1816.

Page 338, line 9.

George ought to be *Gouge*, an eminent Presbyterian minister, who had the church of St. Sepulchre during the Commonwealth, and abandoned it, on the Act of Uniformity coming into force. There is an account of him in Calamy's *Lives of the Ejected Ministers*, 8vo., 1713.

Page 342, line 8.

Off Square is evidently a mistake, in the shorthand MS., for *half-square*, which is explained by the following extract from W. Leybourn's "Complete Surveyor," 3rd ed., London, 1674, fol.:—

"Before I proceed, I must needs detect one grand and too common an error; for most artificers, when they meet with squared timber, whose breadth and depth are unequal, they usually add the breadth and depth together, and take the half for a mean square, and so proceed. This, indeed, though it be always an error, yet it is not so great when the difference of the breadth and depth is not much; but, if the difference be great, the error is very obnoxious either to buyer or seller. I will instance in one example:—

Let a piece of timber be 2 foot 24 parts broad, and 1 foot 30 parts deep, and 26 foot long: how many foot are contained therein?

First for the true way:

1. As 1 is to 2·24 parts, the breadth, so is 1·30 parts, the depth, to 3·92 parts, the content at the end.

2. As 1 is to 2·92, so is 26 the length, to 56·07, the content, which is 56 foot and about an inch.

Now for the customary false way:

The breadth of the piece is . .	2·24
The depth thereof is	1·30
Their sum is . .	3·54
The half sum is .	1·77

And this 1·77 parts they take for the true square, which is egregiously false; for, now come to the line of numbers, and say—

1. As 1 is to 1·77 parts, so is 1·77 parts to 3·13 parts.

2. As 1 is to 3·13 parts, so is 26, the length, to 81·45 parts, that is to 81 foot and almost half a foot, whereas, by the true way, it contains but 56 foot and 07 parts.

The difference in this piece being 25 foot and above one third part of a foot, which is above half a load of timber, and timber being at 50*s.* or £3 per load, here is 25*s.* or 30*s.* lost by the buyer, and gained by the seller; a considerable fallacy, to buy one load, and pay for above a load and a half. But, if people will be deceived, let them be deceived."

It is to be hoped that Pepys carried out his intention of putting an end to the nefarious practice of cheating the King in the purchase of timber. He speaks of it in good faith, and his term, mystery, simply implies his ignorance of the art of measuring. With regard to Sir William Warren, the case was probably different: he made large presents to Pepys, and confesses that he perjured himself before the Committee of the House of Commons, in concealing the fact. Frauds in the supply of timber for the use of the Navy have been common subjects of complaint at a much later period.

Page 351, Note 4.

Sir John Shaw was a Farmer of the Customs.

Page 366, lines 7 and 8.

The child was owned by neither of the Royal Brothers.

Page 368, line 18.

The only burial recorded in the parish Register of All Hallows, Barking, as having taken place on the 22nd October, 1662, is that of Elizabeth, daughter of John Dickens; and the circumstance of her father's interment being entered in the same book, just a week before, leaves no doubt that she was "poor Morma," or "Morena"—for the word is doubtful in the MS. It would be vain to speculate as to her history, and the meaning of the name by which Pepys calls her; but probably she was one of the many young beauties admired by him, and for whom he felt more interest as her health declined.

Page 370, line 36.

Lucy Waters, daughter of Richard Waters, of Haverford-West, Pembrokeshire, mother of the Duke of Monmouth, who bore the surname of Crofts till his marriage.

Page 379, line 18.

Great Levers, in Lancashire, was bought by John Bridgeman, Bishop of Chester, from Sir Ralph Assheton, of Lever, the second Baronet, about 1629. Sir Ralph died in October, 1644, the Bishop in 1649. Sir Orlando, the Bishop's eldest son, most probably put up the arms and inscriptions mentioned by Pepys.

Page 380, line 25.

The Chest, at Chatham, was originally planned by Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins, in 1588, after the defeat of the Armada, the seamen voluntarily agreeing to have certain sums "defalked" out of their wages, to form a fund for relief. The property became considerable, as well as the abuses, and in 1802 the Chest was removed to Greenwich. In 1817, the stock amounted to £300,000 Consols.—*Hist of Rochester*, p. 346.

Page 381, line 10.

This entry seems to have been corrected by Pepys at a later time, for Monmouth was not created a Duke till 14th Feb., 1662–3.

Page 382, line 7.

There is a copy of Dering's Latin songs in the British Museum, entitled "Cantica Sacra ad Duas et Tres Voces Composita."—London, 1662, folio.

Page 382, line 23.

Afterwards Sir Thomas Davis, Sheriff of London.

Page 386, line 26.

Skaiting was introduced by the Cavaliers, who had been with Charles II. in Holland.

Page 399, line 9.

By *moyre* is meant *mohair*. See the note on ferrandin, below.

Page 400, line 10.

The tune of "Cuckolds all awry" (a row) may be seen in Chappell's Collection.

Page 402, Note.

Macclesfield House, then Lord Gerard's residence, was in Soho. The names are preserved in Macclesfield Street and Gerard Street.

Page 409, Note 2.

Pope says that Sir John Cutler had an only daughter; in fact, he had two: one married to Lord Radnor; the other, mentioned afterwards by Pepys, the wife of Sir William Portman.

Page 412, line 16.

Ferrandin, which was sometimes spelt *farendon*, was a stuff made of silk mixed with some other material, like what is now called poplin: both mohair and farendon are generally cheap materials; for in the case of Manby *v.* Scott, decided in the Exchequer Chamber in 1663, and reported in the first vol. of Modern Reports, the question being as to the liability of a husband to pay for goods supplied against his consent to his wife, who had separated from him, Mr. Justice Hyde (whose judgment is most amusing) observes, in putting various supposed cases, that "The wife will have a velvet gown and a satin petticoat, and the husband thinks a *mohair* or *farendon* for a gown, and watered tabby for a petticoat, is as fashionable, and fitter for her quality."

Page 432, line 8.

The arrangements made about the new money, after the Restoration, will be found in Hawkins's "English Coins," pp. 213, 214.

Page 433, line 21.

The old Admiralty Court, then held at the Marshalsea, which has been lately pulled down.

Page 436, line 22.

Colonel Williams—"*Cromwell that was*," appears to have been Henry Cromwell, grandson of Sir Oliver Cromwell, and first cousin, once removed, to the Protector. He was seated at Bodsey House, in the parish of Ramsey, which had been his father's residence, and held the commission of a Colonel. He served in several Parliaments for Huntingdonshire, voting, in 1660, for the restoration of the monarchy: and as he knew the name of Cromwell would not be grateful to the Court, he disused it, and assumed that of Williams, which had belonged to his ancestors; and he is so styled in a list of Knights of the proposed Order of the Royal Oak. He died at Huntingdon, 3rd August, 1673.—Abridged from Noble's *Memoirs of the Cromwells*, vol. i., p. 70.

Ibid., line 30.

Some word is omitted in the MS., without which the sentence is incomplete. Cooper was the person who gave Pepys lessons in arithmetic.

Page 442, line 28.

The arms granted to the Duke of Monmouth, 8th April, 1665, were, Quarterly, i. and iv.; Ermine, on a pile, *gu.;* three lions passant gardant, *or.;* ii. and iii. *or.*, an inescutcheon of France, within a double tressure flory counter flory, *gu.* On the 22nd of April, 1667, another grant was made to the Duke of the arms of Charles II., with a baton sinister, *arg.;* over all, an inescutcheon of Scott. It is quite clear that Pepys knew nothing of heraldry.

Page 447, line 34.

The lions were in the Tower; whence the word to

lionize, which may puzzle the etymologists of the next century, the menagerie no longer existing.

Page 449, line 16.

John, son of Sir Thomas Dawes, of Putney. He married Christian, daughter and heir of William Lyons, Esq., of Barking, Essex, and was created a Baronet in June, 1663. His third son, Sir William Dawes, became Archbishop of York.

Ibid., Note.

Sir Andrew Rickard was father-in-law of John, Lord Berkeley, of Stratton, so often mentioned.

Page 450, Note.

This note should be cancelled.

Page 455, line 17.

William Montagu was afterwards Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer: *ob.* 1707, *æt.* 84.

Ibid., line 21.

Montagu Bertie, second Earl of Lindsey, whose mother was Elizabeth, daughter of Edward, first Lord Montagu of Boughton.

Page 457, line 33.

In 1609, a *Chiaus* sent by Sir Robert Shirley from Constantinople to London, had *chiaused* (or choused) the Turkish and Persian merchants out of £4000, before the arrival of his employer, and had decamped. The affair was quite recent in 1610, when Jonson's "Alchemist" appeared, in which it is thus alluded to:—

> "*D.* What do you think of me?
> That I am a *Chiaus?*
> "*Face.* What's that?
> "*D.* The Turk was here.
> As one would say, do you think I am a Turk?"
>
> *Alch.*, i., 2.

"The Turk," says Mr. Gifford, "was probably little

conscious that he had enriched the language with a word, the etymology of which would mislead Upton and puzzle Dr. Johnson." Hence, therefore, to *chouse*. See Nares' *Glossary*.

Page 458, lines 11 and 12

La Duchesse was the name of a dance.

Page 460, line 7.

This was the money coined by the Commonwealth, having on one side a shield, bearing the Cross of St. George; and on the other a shield, bearing a Harp.—Hawkins, p. 208.

Page 463, line 24.

A mistake of the decipherer for Pyramena, the character sustained by Gosnell, in Sir R. Stapylton's play of "The Slighted Maid."

Ibid., Note 1.

Sir Balthazar Gerbier was as much a painter as an architect. In the "Parliamentary Intelligencer" are several advertisements of lectures given by him at his academy in Whitefriars, in 1649–50, on all sorts of subjects, in all sorts of languages, with an entertainment of music, "so there be time for the same."

Page 470, line 2.

Notwithstanding the gross licentiousness of the drama, after the Restoration, numbers of females of all denominations frequented the theatres, though many of them wore masks, to disguise their features, and this bad habit had a still worse effect, by the facilities which it afforded to intrigue and assignation. The custom is pointedly referred to in Pope's well-known lines:—

> "The fair sat panting at a courtier's play,
> And not a mask went unimproved away;
> The modest fan was lifted up no more,
> And virgins smiled at what they blushed before."

The fashion of wearing masks seems to have lasted many

years; for, as late as the 1st of June, 1704, a song was sung at the Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, called "The Misses' Lamentation for want of their Vizard Masques at the Theatre."

Page 482, line 26.

Anne of Austria, Queen of France.

Page 502, line 31.

The first number of "The Public Intelligencer."

Page 507, lines 27–30.

Watson, in his History of Wisbeach, p. 239, names some of the printed books in the library there, but does not mention any of the *MSS.* Secretary Thurloe's gallery had been erected at the expense of the Corporation, out of gratitude to him for many services rendered to the town. It is now used for the general accommodation of the inhabitants.

Page 509, Note 3.

Sir Edward Ford was the author of a tract, entitled "Experimented Proposals how the King may have money to pay and maintain his Fleets, with ease to his People: London may be rebuilt, and all proprietors satisfied: money to be but at six per cent. on pawns, and the Fishing Trade set up, which alone is able, and sure to enrich us all. And all this without altering, straining, or thwarting, any of our Laws, or Customs, now in use." 4to. 1666.—Repr. *Harl. Miscell.*, iv., 195. Ford was High Sheriff of Sussex, adhered to Charles I., and was knighted in 1643. In 1658, he laid down pipes to supply parts of London with water from the Thames. The second and third Lords Braybrooke are descended, in the female line, from his daughter, Catherine Ford, who married Ralph, Lord Grey of Werke, their maternal ancestor.

Page 510, line 6.

According to Collins, Henry Fitzroy, Lady Castle-

maine's second son by Charles II., was born on the 1st September, 1663. He was the first Duke of Grafton.

Page 514, line 22.

Catherine of Braganza's illness was first noticed in "The Intelligencer," on the 13th October, but Pepys did not hear of it till the 17th. The bulletins of her Majesty's health continued till 15th November.

Page 516, line 27.

The grief of Charles at the Queen's dangerous condition was thus noticed by Waller:—

> "——— when no healing art prevail'd,
> When cordials and elixirs fail'd,
> On your pale cheek he dropt the shower,
> Reviv'd you like a dying flower."

Page 520, line 28.

The Lord Mayor's "Show" was then *after* the dinner.

Page 524, Note 1.

There is a *MS.* by Silas Taylor in the British Museum (Addit. *MSS.*, 4910). It formerly belonged to Sir John Hawkins, who describes Taylor as well skilled in music, and a composer of two anthems, which pleased the King: see Hawkins's *Hist. of Music*, vol. iv., p. 330, and Wood's *Athenæ*. Taylor published in his lifetime a treatise on Gavel-kind.

Ibid., line 15.

Afterwards Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Portsmouth, killed in 1666.

Page 529, Note 1.

The "great discoverer who did employ several to bring and seduce others into a plot," was probably Major Greathead, a Commonwealth officer, whom Oliver Heywood, in his Diaries, calls "that perfidious wretch, guilty of so much blood in the plot business"—a severity of expression in which he did not often allow himself to indulge.

Page 537, Note 1.

John Evelyn was shown "a pretty Terella, described with all the circles, and shewing all the magnetic deviations:" see his Diary, 3rd July, 1655.

Page 542, Note.

Quinsborough is Königsberg. It is most probable that Mr. Harrington had been reading "The Travells of Master George Barkley, merchant of London," as given by Purchas, ii., 625, 627. Königsberg is there spelled Kinninsburge, easily corrupted by Pepys into *Quinsborough*. The Swallow story is found at p. 626.—"One here in his net drew up a company or heape of swallows, as big as a bushell, fastened by the leg and bills in one, which being carried to their stoves, quickened, and flew, and coming again suddenly in the cold air, dyed." It appears to have been generally believed. In the "Advice to a Painter," (1667) attributed to Sir John Denham, we find the following lines—

> "So swallows, buried in the sea at Spring,
> Return to land with Summer in their [on the?] wing."

APPENDIX.

It seems doubtful whether Sir John Robsart's daughter was named Amy, or Anne. The Funeral Certificates inform us that "Lady *Anne* Robsart, late wife of Robert Dudley, K.G., died on Sunday, the 8th of September, 1560, at a house of Mr. Foster's three miles from Oxford; and was buried on Sunday, the 22nd of September, in Our Lady Church, of Oxford."—*Harl. MSS.*, 897. Her name is also written *Anne* in an original instrument, under the hand of Sir John Robsart, dated 15 May, 4 Edw. VI., by which he settles upon her and Robert Dudley, the marriage being then agreed upon, an annuity of £20.—*Chartæ Misc.* in the Augmentation Office, *ex. inf.*, Rev. Joseph Hunter.

CORRIGENDA.

Page 286, Note 4.
In line 2, for *Une*, read *Un.*

Page 212, Note.
In line 2, for *Fleet*, read Hart.

Page 290, line 31.
For *Herbert*, read Harbord.

Pages 415, 416, Note 3.
In line 2, on p. 416, for Kirke read Vernon.

VOL. II.

Page 1, lines 3 and 4.

Sir Nicholas Gold, or Gould, created a baronet in 1660, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Garrard, Bart., of Lamers, Herts. She remarried Thomas Neal: see vol. ii., p. 63.

Page 9, line 7.

Francis Osborne, an English writer of considerable abilities and popularity, was the author of "Advice to a Son," in two parts, Oxford, 1656–8, 8vo. He died in 1659. He is the same person mentioned as "*Father* Osborne."

Page 11, Note 1.

There is an account of Stephen Marshall, the Presbyterian minister, in Neal's *History of the Puritans.* Sir Peter Leycester, who married a daughter of Lord Gerard, of Bromley, observes, in his History of Cheshire, that "the two famous woman-actors in London" were daughters of —— Marshall, chaplain to Lord G., by Elizabeth, bastard daughter of John Dutton, of Dutton. Sir Peter, being connected by marriage with the Duttons, ought to have known the fact; but it is difficult to suppose that Mrs. Pierce and Nell Gwynn could have been ignorant of the actress's real history. Nor does it seem likely that

Lord Gerard, who was a staunch Royalist, would have selected a Presbyterian minister for his chaplain.

Page 16, line 17.

Sir George Oxendon was then the chief factor of the East India Company. In 1686, the English removed to Bombay. Surat is still in our possession.

Page 22, line 4.

The new building at Somerset House was preparing for the residence of the Queen-Dowager. The river front, designed by Inigo Jones, has been imitated at the County Fire-Office, in Regent Street.

Page 28, line 17.

"The Intelligencer" of March 12, 1663–4, notices the fall of the house here mentioned.

Page 36, Note.

The poetry beginning "My mind to me a kingdom is," was set to music by the celebrated W. Byrd, in 1558, in a book called "Psalms, Sonnets, and Songs of Sadnesse and Pietie." On the authority of an old MS. in the Bodleian Library, it has been attributed to Sir Edward Dyer. At all events, it can have nothing to do with Prince Henry, who was not then born.

Page 48, Note 2.

One of Yarranton's wild schemes, at this time, was to bring the Mum trade from Brunswick, and fix it at Stratford-on-Avon. See his *England's Improvement.*

Page 61, line 18.

The Cherry Garden was at Rotherhithe.

Page 62, Note 2.

This word is used by Spenser for companions or equals. As a piece of cloth was generally about twenty-five yards, two equal parts may have been called *beauperes.* It appears, from one of the Pepys papers, of a later date, that bewpers were used as a material for flags.

Page 64, line 16.

From the commencement of the reign of Henry VIII., or perhaps earlier, it was the custom of the City of London to provide against scarcity, by requiring each of the chartered Companies to keep in store a certain quantity of corn, which was to be renewed from time to time, and when required for that purpose, produced in the market for sale, at such times and prices, and in such quantities, as the Lord Mayor or Common Council should direct: see the report of a case in the Court of Chancery, "Attorney-General *v.* Haberdashers' Company"—Mylne and Keen's *Reports*, vol. i., p. 420.

Page 76, line 5.

Lord Sandwich's sixth son, James Montagu, who died unmarried.

Page 82, line 11.

General Soushe was Louis Ratuit, Comte de Souches. The battle was fought at Lewentz, in Hungary.

Page 85, line 2.

It was the battle of St. Gothard, fought on the first of August: so that the news had come to England in eight days.

Ibid., line 5.

The fact is, that the Germans were beaten by the Turks, and the French won the battle for them.

Ibid., line 18.

The words are, in "Troilus and Creseide," book iii., lines 1462 to 1468—

> "Alas, what have these lovers thee agilt?
> Dispitious day, thine be the paine of hell,
> For many a lover hast thou slain, and wilt,
> Thy poring in woll nowhere let him dwell;
> What prof'rest thou thy light here for to sell?
> *Go sell it hem that small seales 'grave*,
> We woll thee not; us needeth no day have."

Page 98, Note 1.

Sir John Skeffington married Mary, only daughter and

heir of Sir John Clotworthy, who was in 1660 created Viscount Massarene, of Ireland, with remainder to his son-in-law, Sir John Skeffington, who succeeded as second Viscount in 1665, and died in 1695.

Page 100, line 25.

"The King's picture" was doubtless the frontispiece to the *Eikon Basilike.*

Page 108, line 24.

The ship was the Royal Catherine, of 82 guns.—See Appendix, for the French Ambassador's letter, describing the launch.

Page 118, Note.

Major Huntington's reasons for laying down his commission are printed in Thurloe's *State Papers*, and Maseres's *Tracts.*

Page 129, Note 1.

It is stated by Prior, in the Dedication of his Poems to Lionel Earl of Dorset and Middlesex, that the Earl's father wrote the celebrated sea-song, "The night before the Engagement with the Dutch, in 1665;" but this assertion seems very questionable. Dr. Johnson, indeed, after remarking that seldom any splendid story is wholly true, mentions his having heard from the Earl of Orrery, who was likely to have good hereditary intelligence, that Lord Buckhurst had been a week employed upon the performance, and only retouched, or finished, it on the memorable evening. "But even this," adds the Doctor, "whatever it may subtract from his facility, leaves him his courage." In Johnson's Poets, 1790, the song is described as "written at sea in the first Dutch war, the night before *an* engagement." T. Durfey, in his Wit and Drollery, vol v., speaks of the composition as "a ballad written by the late Lord\ Dorset *when at sea;*" and in the fifth stanza he substitutes "Count Thoulouse" for "foggy Opdam," and "French" for "Dutch;" but the original words have been restored

in more recent versions. In the absence of certain evidence, we cannot decide upon the fact ; but all accounts agree in representing Buckhurst as having served as a volunteer under the Duke of York, whose *first cruize took place* in *November*, 1664. Perhaps, then, the ballad was written at this time, when an action between the two fleets was only delayed by the Dutch retiring to port. Thus Pepys might well have seen the song in January 1664–5 ; and it still may have been retouched, and brought out with *éclat* during the excitement consequent upon the victory of June 3, following. Nor is it, indeed, easy to imagine that any one ever wrote a ballad when about to take part in a great naval conflict, or that, if two songs had been contemporaneously composed, on the same subject, with titles so nearly identical, one only should be known to exist.

Page 130, line 18.

The book is still in use, containing the autograph of every Fellow, from the institution of the Society to the present time.

Page 132, line 10.

On the expedition to the Isle of Rhé,

Page 143, Note 2.

Jonathan Goddard was M.P. for Oxfordshire in 1653.

Page 159, line 18.

The French Ambassadors were Henri de Bourbon, Duc de Verneuil, natural son of Henry IV., and brother of Henrietta Maria, and M. de Courtin.

Page 167, Note.

The site of Colonel Blount's house is now covered with villas, and is called Blackheath Park.

Page 169, line 13.

The use of tallies, so frequently alluded to in the Diary, having been discontinued, some explanation of the term may not be considered unacceptable. Formerly, accounts

were kept, and large sums of money paid and received, by the King's Exchequer, with little other form than the exchange or delivery of tallies, pieces of wood notched or scored, corresponding blocks being kept by the parties to the account: and from this usage one of the head officers of the Exchequer was called the Tallier, or Teller. These tallies were often negotiable. Adam Smith, in his "Wealth of Nations," book II, ch. xi., says, that "in 1696 *tallies* had been at forty and fifty and sixty per cent. discount, and bank-notes at twenty per cent." The system of tallies was discontinued about twenty years ago; and the destruction of the old Houses of Parliament is thought to have been occasioned by the overheating of the flues, when the furnaces were employed to consume the tallies, rendered useless by the alteration in the mode of keeping the Exchequer accounts.

Page 170, line 18.

The work alluded to is Sir Anthony Weldon's.

Page 173, line 18.

Mrs. Mallet's mother was Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Hawley.

Ibid., line 24.

They were gold fish, brought from China.

Page 176, line 7.

Sir Henry Felton, of Playford, Suffolk, Bart., who married Susanne, daughter of Sir Lionel Talmash, of Helmingham, Bart. Their second son, Sir Thomas Felton, married Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter and co-heir of James Lord Howard de Walden, and third Earl of Suffolk.

Page 178, line 1.

See Sir John Denham's Advice to a Painter concerning the Dutch War, in Poems on State Affairs, i. 24.

Ibid., lines 10 and 11.

When Opdam's ship blew up, a shot from it mortally

wounded Sir John Lawson, which is thus alluded to in the "Poems on State Affairs:"

"——— Destiny allowed
Him his revenge, to make his death more proud.
A fatal bullet from his side did range,
And battered *Lawson;* oh, too dear exchange!
He led our fleet that day too short a space,
But lost his knee: since died, in glorious race,
Lawson, whose valour beyond fate did go,
And still fights *Opdam* in the lake below."

In the same poem, Lord Falmouth's death (see Diary, vol. ii., p. 178) is thus noticed:

"Falmouth was there, I know not what to act;
Some say 'twas to grow Duke, too, by contract:
An untaught bullet, in its wanton scope,
Dashes him all to pieces, and his *hope.*
Such was his rise, such was his fall, upraised;
A chance-shot sooner took him than chance raised:
His shattered head the fearless Duke distains,
And gave the last first proof that he had brains."

Page 178, line 13.

Afterwards Sir Joseph Jordan, Commander of the Royal Sovereign and Vice-Admiral of the Red, 1672. He was knighted on the 1st July, 1665.

Page 180, line 23.

Alderman Sir Richard Browne, Bart., was Lord Mayor in 1621, and Major-General of the Trained-Bands: see vol. i., p. 27. His son was Sir Richard Browne, Knight. Sir Richard Browne, the Clerk of the Council, noticed in vol. i. p. 273, was of a different family. The Lord Mayor was seated at Debden Hall, in Essex, which he had purchased soon after 1660, and the estate was alienated by his son, the second Baronet.

Page 182, line 28.

Sir William Berkeley's behaviour, after the death of his brother, Lord Falmouth, is severely commented on.

"*Berkeley* had heard it soon, and thought not good
To venture more of royal *Harding's* blood;
To be immortal he was not of age,
And did e'en now the *Indian Prize* presage;
And judged it safe and decent, cost what cost,
To lose the day, *since his dear brother's lost.*
With his whole squadron straight away he bore,
And, like good boy, promised to fight no more."

Page 196, line 3.

At the Treasurer's house at Deptford, Sir G. Carteret's official residence.

Page 200, line 29.

The hall spoken of was converted into the library by Archbishop Howley.

Page 202, line 16.

Louisa Marguerite Carteret, afterwards married to Sir Robert Atkins, of Seperton, Gloucestershire.

Ibid., lines 35 and 36.

Richard, created Earl of Arran in 1662, and Lord Butler of Weston, in England, in 1673.

Ibid., line 36.

Lady Mary Stuart, only surviving child of James Duke of Richmond and Lenox, who died in 1655, and heir to her brother Esme, who deceased in 1666. She survived till 1688.

Page 203, line 13.

Caroline, second daughter of Sir George Carteret, wife of Sir Thomas Scott, of Scott's Hall, Kent: see vol. i., p. 495.

Page 209, line 18.

The secret is now well known, and is described by Sir David Brewster, in his "Natural Magic," p. 256:—"One of the most remarkable and inexplicable experiments relative to the strength of the human frame, is that in which a heavy man is raised up the instant that his own lungs and those of the persons who raise him are inflated

with air. This experiment was, I believe, first shown in England a few years ago by Major H., who saw it performed in a large party at Venice, under the direction of an officer of the American navy. As Major H. performed it more than once in my presence, I shall describe as nearly as possible the method which he prescribed. The heaviest person in the party lies down upon two chairs, his legs being supported by the one, and his back by the other. Four persons, one at each leg, and one at each shoulder, then try to raise him, and they find his dead weight to be very great, from the difficulty they experience in supporting him. When he is replaced in the chair, each of the four persons takes hold of the body, as before, and the person to be lifted gives two signals, by clapping his hands. At the first signal, he himself and the four lifters begin to draw a long and full breath; and when the inhalation is completed, or the lungs filled, the second signal is given for raising the person from the chair. To his own surprise and that of his bearers, he rises with the greatest facility, as if he were no heavier than a feather. On several occasions, I have observed, that when one of the bearers performs his part ill, by making the inhalation out of time, the part of the body which he tries to raise is left as it were behind. As you have repeatedly seen this experiment, and have performed the part both of the load and of the bearer, you can testify how remarkable the effects appear to all parties, and how complete is the conviction, either that the load has been lightened, or the bearer strengthened, by the prescribed process. At Venice, the experiment was performed in a much more imposing manner. The heaviest man in the party was raised and sustained upon the points of the forefingers of six persons. Major H. declared that the experiment would not succeed, if the person lifted were placed upon a board, and the strength of the individuals applied to the board. He conceived it necessary that the bearers should com-

municate directly with the body to be raised. I have not had an opportunity of making any experiments relative to these curious facts: but, whether the general effect is an illusion, or the result of known or new principles, the subject merits a careful investigation."

Page 213, line 18.

Scott's Hall was in the parish of Sneath, near Ashford, in Kent, and long the residence of William Baliol le Scot, a brother of John Baliol, King of Scotland. The property was sold in 1784 to John Honeywood, and afterwards alienated to the late Sir Edward Knatchbull, who pulled down the house. Hasted says it was of the time of Henry VIII.; but from rough sketches of the building, in the possession of one of the Scott family, who lived to be nearly ninety, it was conjectured to have been much more ancient.

Page 217, line 9.

A view of this attack on Bergen, "described from the life in Aug., 1661, by C. H.," being a contemporary-coloured view, in vellum, with the range of the ships engaged, is in the British Museum. The affair of Bergen did not escape Denham's satiric lash:

"——all our navy 'scaped so sound of limb,
That a short space served to refresh and trim:
And a tame fleet of theirs[1] doth convoy want,
Laden with both the Indies and Levant:
Paint but this one scene more, the world's our own,
And Halcyon *Sandwich* doth command alone:
To *Bergen* we with confidence make haste,
And secret spoils by hope already taste;
Tho' *Clifford* in the character appear
Of supra-cargo to our fleet, and there
Wearing a signet ready to clap on,
And seize all for his master *Arlington.*
Ruyter, whose little squadron skimmed the seas,
And wasted our remotest colonies,

[1] The Dutch.

With ships all foul, returned upon our way;
Sandwich would not disperse nor yet delay;
And therefore like commander grave and wise,
To 'scape his sight and fight, shut both his eyes;
And for more state and sureness, *Cuttance*, true,
The left eye closeth, the right *Montague;*
And even *Clifford* proffered in his zeal,
To make all safe, to apply to both his seal.
Ulysses so, till Syrens he had past,
Would by his mates be pinioned to the mast.
Now can our navy view the wished port,
But there (to see the fortune!) was a fort:
Sandwich would not be beaten, nor yet beat:
Fools only fight, the prudent use to treat.
His cousin Montague, by court-disaster,
Dwindled into the wooden-horse's master,
To speak of peace seemed amongst all most proper,
Had *Talbot* then treated of nought but copper:
Or, what are forts when void of ammunition?
With friends or foes what would we more condition?
Yet we three days, till the Dutch furnished all,
Men, powder, money, cannon, treat with wall!
Then *Tydiman*, finding the Danes would not,
Sent in six captains bravely to be shot.
And Montagu, though drest like any bride,
And aboard him too, yet was reached and died.
Sad was the chance, and yet a deeper care
Wrinkled his membranes under forehead fair,
The Dutch Armado yet had th' impudence
To put to sea, to waft their merchants thence,
For, as if all their ships of walnut were,
The more we beat them, still the more they bear:
But a good pilot, and a favouring wind,
Brings *Sandwich* back, and once again did blind."

Advice to a Painter.

Page 217, line 25.

"The Sovereign of the Seas" was built at Woolwich, in 1637, of timber which had been stripped of its bark while growing in the spring, and not felled till the second autumn afterwards; and it is observed by Dr. Plot, (*Phil. Trans.* for 1691) in his discourse on the most seasonable time for

felling timber, written by the advice of Pepys, that after forty-seven years "all the ancient timber then remaining in her, it was no easy matter to drive a nail into it."—*Quarterly Review*, vol. viii., p. 35.

Page 226, line 8.

Sir Robert Vyner was ruined by the shutting of the Exchequer. The Crown owed him on 1st January, 1676, no less a sum than £416,724, 13*s.* 1*d.*, to pay which the King granted him £25,000, 9*s.* 4d. per annum, out of the duty of Excise. These particulars are stated by Lord Keeper Somers, in his judgment, delivered in the Exchequer Chamber. In the Spectator (No 462) is told the story of Sir Robert's successfully urging the King, at an entertainment given by him, "to return and take t'other bottle." Vyner afterwards erected a statue of the merry Monarch in Stock's Market, and rendered the Crown many great services.

Page 237, Note 3.

Lord Sandwich speaks of five generations, in which the number of descendants might have multiplied *ad infinitum*. Fuller, indeed, in his worthies, records that "Hester Sandys, the wife of Sir Thomas Temple, of Stowe, Bart., had four sons and nine daughters, which lived to be married, and so exceedingly multiplied, that she saw seven hundred extracted from her body. Besides, there was a new generation of marriageable females just at her death." When Charles, thirteenth Duke of Norfolk, had completed his restoration of Arundel Castle, he proposed to entertain all the descendants of his ancestor, Jock of Norfolk, who fell at Bosworth field; but gave up his intention on finding that he should have to invite upwards of six thousand persons.

Page 243, line 30.

Sir George Smith, of St. Bartholomew, by the Exchange.

He married Martha, daughter of John Swift, of London, merchant.

Page 244, line 9.

Gabriel Naudé's Instructions concerning the erecting of a Library, translated by Evelyn in 1661.

Page 245, line 32.

The King of Spain was Philip IV.

Page 250, line 34.

The Still yard was formerly the resort of the Hans Town Merchants. It was destroyed in the Great Fire.

Page 261, line 29.

Colonel Francis Wyndham, a distinguished loyalist, Governor of Dunster Castle, Somersetshire. He was created a Baronet 18th November, 1673.

Page 264, line 27.

This ledger is now in the British Museum, among some of Pepys's Papers, in the Ducket Collection.

Page 268, line 26.

Colonel Wyndham's wife was Anne, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Gerard, of Trent, Somersetshire. As to Mrs. Wyndham's influence over Charles II. when Prince of Wales, see Clarendon, vol. v., p. 153, *ed.* 1826.

Page 269, line 30.

Solyman's words to Roxalana are in the second part of The Siege of Rhodes," act 4, scene 2 :

" Beauty, retire ! thou dost my pity move,
Relieve my pity, and then trust my love. [*Exit* ROXALANA.
At first I thought her by our Prophet sent,
As a reward for valour's toils
More worth than all my father's spoils.
And now she is become my punishment.
But thou art just, O, Power Divine !
With new and painful arts,
Of studied war, I break the hearts
Of half the world, and she breaks mine."

Page 269, Note 2.

Genest, in his "History of the British Stage," (vol. i.) enumerates sixteen characters filled by Mrs. Knipp, at the King's House, between 1664 and 1678, when she disappears from the playbills, in which her name is spelt in six different ways. The details in the Diary respecting this lively actress and "her brute of a husband," whom Pepys describes as a "horse jockey," are so amusing, that any particulars of their subsequent history would have been interesting. Mrs. Napper, mentioned in the note, was a different person, and belonged to the Dorset Gardens Theatre, and her part, "Madam Fickle," was in "The Witty Fair One," erroneously called the "Wily False One." Those readers who may wish to know what performers spoke or acted in any particular play, prologue, or epilogue, mentioned by Pepys, will find information in Genest's work, above quoted, but it was not thought necessary to transplant all the particulars into these pages.

Page 272, line 32.

Mr. Lethieulier's lady was Anne, daughter of Sir William Hooker: see p. 420.

Page 278, line 25.

A song called "Dapper Dicky" exists in the British Museum. It begins "In a barren tree," and was printed about 1710.

Page 280, line 4.

The child was George Fitzroy, born 28th September, 1665; afterwards Duke of Northumberland. He died without children.

Page 281, Note 1.

Anthony Lowther was M.P. for Appleby in 1678 and 1679. William, his son, by Margaret Pen, created a Baronet in 1697, married the heir of Thomas Preston, of Holker, Lancashire. The second Baronet married Eliza-

beth, daughter of William, Duke of Devonshire, whence the Earl of Burlington enjoys the Holker estates.

Page 283, line 33.

The jewels were stolen from the Dutch Vice-Admiral: see p. 264, *ante.*

Page 288, Note 1.

The dredger was probably the *Drageoir* of France—in low Latin, *Drageríum*, or *Drageria*, in which comfits (*dragées*) were kept. Roquefort says—"The ladies wore a little spice-box, in shape like a watch, to carry *dragées*, and it was called a *drageoir*." Old Palsgrave, in his "*Eclaircissement de la langue Françayse*," gives "*dradge*" as spice, rendering it by the French word *dragée*. Chaucer says, of his Doctor of Physic—

> "Full ready hadde he his Apothecaries
> To send him dragges, and his lattuaries."

The word sometimes may have signified the pounded condiments, in which our forefathers delighted. It is worth notice that *dragge* was applied to grain in the eastern counties, though not exclusively there, appearing to denote mixed grain. Bishop Kennet tells us that "dredge mault is mault made up of oats, mixed with barley, of which they make an excellent, freshe, quiete sort of drinke, in Staffordshire."

Page 291, line 2.

The portrait of Mrs. Pepys, here referred to, has been engraved for this work.

Page 313, line 26.

Sir Thomas Ridley, a Master in Chancery, ob. 1629. His work was first printed in 1607.

Page 314, line 17.

Hatcham, near New Cross, on the Deptford Road. A house there still preserves the name.

Page 314, line 23.

The work is by Bussy Rabutin, who suffered a long imprisonment in the Bastille, on account of it.

Page 316, line 24.

Sir Walter Scott observes, in his "Life of Dryden,' that the romances of Calprenede and Scuderi, those ponderous and unmerciful folios, now consigned to oblivion, were, in their day, not only universally read and admired, but supposed to furnish the most perfect models of gallantry and heroism. "I have," says Mrs. Chapone, "and yet I am still alive, dragged through 'Le Grand Cyrus,' in twelve huge volumes; 'Cleopatra,' in eight or ten; 'Ibrahim Clelie,' and some others, whose names, as well as all the rest of them, I have forgotten." (*Letters to Mrs. Carter.*) No wonder that Pepys sat on thorns, when his wife began to recite "Grand Cyrus" in the coach, "and trembled at the impending tale."

Page 323, line 36.

Robert Bruce, second Earl of Elgin and first Earl of Aylesbury.

Page 334, Note 1.

Lady Whitmore was the wife of Sir Thomas Whitmore, of Bridgenorth, second son of Sir Thomas Whitmore, of Apley, Bart. Her daughter Frances married William, grandson of Sir George Whitmore, of Balmes, mentioned by Pepys. See Dryden's epitaph on her, in his works, (Scott's Col.) vol. xi., p. 150.

Page 358, line 9.

The work referred to is, "Storie delle Guerre Civili di Francia," still a very popular book.

Page 366, lines 11 and 12.

Lord Lauderdale's house was on the eastern part of Highgate Hill, and is still known by that name. It was lately inhabited by Richard Bethell, Esq., Queen's Counsel, and now by Ashton Yates, Esq.

Page 408, line 19.

Thomas Thynne, Envoy Extraordinary to Sweden. He was the eldest son of Sir Thomas Thynne, Bart., of Kempsford, by Mary, daughter of Thomas, first Lord Coventry; and on the murder of his cousin, Thomas Thynne, of Longleate, succeeded to all his possessions. In 1602 he was created Viscount Weymouth, and died in 1714, *æt.* 74

Page 421.

Evelyn says, "It was a comely and manly habit, too good to hold, it being impossible for us, in good earnest to leave the *Monsieur's* vanities long." Charles resolved never to alter it, and "to leave the French mode, which had hitherto obtained, to our great expence and reproach." But his inconsistency was so well known, that "divers gentlemen and courtiers gave him gold, by way of wagers, that he would not persist in his resolution."—*Quar. Review*, vol. xix., p. 41. Louis XIV. ordered his servants to wear the dress: see p. 447, *post.* It is represented in a portrait of Lord Arlington, by Sir P. Lely, formerly belonging to Lord De Clifford, and engraved in Lodge's *Illus. Persons.*

Page 426, Note 2.

Evidently the concluding passage of "Mother Shipton's Prophecies," viz., "A ship come sayling up the Thames to London, and the master of the ship shall weepe, and the marriners shall aske him why he weepeth, being he hath made so good a voyage, and he shall say, 'Ah, what a goodlie citie this was, none in the world comparable to it, and now there is scarcely left any house that can let us have drinke for our money.'"—Quoted from the edition of 1641, which Prince Rupert might have seen.

Page 444, line 12.

Anne, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Temple, of Frankton, in Warwickshire, by Rebecca, daughter of Sir Nicholas Cary, of Beddington, in Surrey, became the second wife of Sir Charles Lyttleton, who had been

Governor of Jamaica, and lived to be eighty-seven. His lady survived him four years, dying in 1718, and had issue by him eight daughters and five sons. From this alliance the Lords Lyttleton descend.

Page 444, line 13.

George Lord Berkeley had six daughters. The one mentioned here was probably the eldest, Lady Elizabeth.

Page 449, line 1.

"A Blow at Modern Sadducism, with an account of the Demon of Tedworth," 4to., London, 1666.

Page 456, line 5.

Lady Bath was Rachel, daughter of Francis, Earl of Westmoreland, widow of Henry Bourchier, Earl of Bath. She afterwards married Lionel Cranfield, third Earl of Middlesex.

Page 465, line 26.

Mr. Cæsar seems to have been a composer. Some of his songs are in different collections of the time, under the name of William Cæsar, *alias* Smegergill.

Ibid.

There are some songs by John Goodgroome, a gentleman of the Chapel Royal, in one of Playford's Collections.

Page 467, line 26.

Sir Alan Broderick died on the 28th November, 1680, and was interred at Wandsworth, on the 3rd December, when his funeral sermon was preached by Nathaniel Resbury, D.D., incumbent of the parish. The following extracts from the discourse, which, though printed, is very scarce, may throw some light on the knight's character, and, from their quaintness, are interesting. "In the first place, therefore, I might be very well allow'd to begin with that usual head of panegyrick, where the subject could well bear it, viz. the quality of his birth and extract, and so give you his lineage in a long series of worthy and

honorable ancestry, who from time immemorial had liv'd in the Registry of Honour in the Northern parts, till his own father, by the occasion of a noble trust, viz., the Lieutenancy of the Tower of London, came to add warmth to our Southern clime, and bless'd this place not only with his own and his religious Lady's presence and vertues, (whose names and memories are still fragrant in those odours of goodness wherein they had been so plentifully scented in life) but with a numerous and valuable progeny, amongst whom was this wonder both of greatness and goodness. . . . . I will readily acknowledge (and why, indeed, should I scruple to own what himself with such repeated contrition and brokenness of spirit would to all sober ears so freely and heartily condemn himself for?) that a long scene of his life had been acted off in the sports and follies of sin: if I may use his own words, it was a pagan and abandoned way he had sometime pursu'd, scepticism itself not excepted. . . . . He had for many years practis'd in the politicks of this nation, and having so nearly attacht himself to one of the greatest Ministers of State[1] that this kingdom ever knew, (whose mistaken wisdom and integrity perhaps hath been since better understood by the want of him) made himself no small figure in the administration." The Lords Midleton are descended from Sir St. John Broderick, a younger brother of Sir Alan.

VOL. III.

Page 10, line 19.

The Solicitor-General was Sir Edward Turner.

Page 21, line 20.

Lord John Butler was born in 1643, and in January,

[1] Lord Chancellor Clarendon.

1676, married Anne, only daughter of Anthony Chichester, Earl of Donegal. In April, 1676, he was created Earl of Gowran: *ob., s. p.*, 1677.

Page 40, line 3.

The fortification at Sheerness was erected by Sir Bernard de Gomme. The original draft is in the British Museum: see p. 57, *post.*

Ibid., line 22.

Sir George Downing's mother was Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Robert Brett, D.D.

Ibid., line 24.

Lady Downing was Frances, fourth daughter of William Howard, of Naworth, and sister of Charles Howard, the first Earl of Carlisle of that family.

Page 46, line 13.

Devonshire House was in Bishopsgate Street, where Devonshire Square now stands.

Ibid., Note 2.

Downes quaintly says that Mary Davis "sang this song so charmingly, that it raised her from her 'bed on the cold ground' to the bed Royal."

Page 52, Note.

See Sir Walter Scott's preface to "The Naked Truth," in Somers's Tracts, vol. vii., p. 268.

Page 57, line 5.

Sir Godfrey Lloyd had been a Captain in Holland, and was knighted by Charles at Brussels in 1657.

Page 78, line 34.

Sir George Viner, in 1665, succeeded his father, Sir Thomas, who had been Lord Mayor in 1653, and created a baronet in 1660. Sir George died in 1673. His wife was Abigail, daughter of Sir John Lawrence, Lord Mayor in 1665.

Page 81, line 10.

All these assertions respecting the King of France must

be received cautiously. Pepys was very ignorant of foreign matters, and very credulous.

Page 81, line 26.

Louis made his own bastards dukes and princes, and legitimatized them as much as he could, connecting them by marriage with the real blood-royal.

Ibid., line 28.

Louise Françoise de la Beaume le Blanc de la Vallière had four children by Louis XIV., of whom only two survived—Marie Anne de Bourbon, called Mademoiselle de Blois, born in 1666, afterwards married to the Prince de Conti, and the Comte de Vermandois, born in 1667. In that year, (the very year in which Evelyn was giving this account to Pepys) the Duchy of Vaujour and two Baronies were created in favour of La Vallière and her daughter, who, in the deed of creation, was legitimatized, and styled Princess. So much for Pepys's informant.

Page 82, line 10.

Evelyn evidently believed the Duchess of Richmond to be innocent; and her own declaration ought to weigh down all the scandal which Pepys reports from other sources.

Page 83, Note.

Lady Catherine O'Brien married Sir Joseph Williamson, who re-purchased the Cobham estates, when sold, and preserved them to the family.

Page 85, line 15.

See a character of Jonas Shish, in Evelyn's Diary.

Page 91, Note 2.

A view of the fine staircase still existing in old Ashburnham House is given in Britton and Brayley's *Public Buildings.*

Page 98, line 7.

St. Paul's School still occupies the same site as in Pepys's time.

Page 101, line 25.

Lady Vane was Frances, daughter of Sir Christopher Wray, Bart., of Ashby, Lincolnshire.

Page 103, line 10.

Burnet says of Sir John Duncomb, that "he was a judicious man, but very haughty, and apt to raise enemies. He was an able Parliament-man, but could not go into all the designs of the Court; for he had a sense of religion, and a zeal for the liberty of his country." (*O. T.*, vol. i., p. 437, ed. 1833.) Duncomb's removal from the Ordnance to the Treasury is not overlooked by Marvel (Works, vol. iii., p. 391):—

> "*Southampton* dead, much of the treasure's care
> And place in council fell to *Duncomb's* share.
> All men admired, he to that pitch could fly,
> Powder ne'er blew man up so soon, so high;
> But, sure his late good husbandry in petre,[1]
> Showed him to manage the Exchequer meeter;
> And who the forts would not vouchsafe a corn,
> To lavish the King's money more would scorn
> Who hath no chimneys, to give all is best;
> And ablest speaker who of law hath least.
> Who less estate for Treasurer most fit,
> And for a Chancellor he that has least wit.
> But the true cause was, that in's brother *May*,
> Th' exchequer might the privy-purse obey."

Page 105, line 20.

Mary, widow of Morgan Davis, Esq., the third wife of Alderman Robert Lowther, was the lady here referred to.

Ibid., line 21.

According to Collins, Anthony Lowther had but one brother, John, a merchant at Dantzic, and one of the

[1] Saltpetre.

Commissioners of Revenue in Ireland. See Collins, vol. v., p. 702.

Page 106, line 19.

The parish church at Westminster was St. Margaret's.

Page 117, Note.

Malcolm (*Manners of London*) quotes from the *Protestant Mercury*, about the close of the seventeenth century, that a porter's lady, who resided near Strand Lane, beat her husband with so much violence and perseverance, that the poor man was compelled to leap out of the window, to escape her fury. Exasperated at this virago, the neighbours made "a riding;" *i.e.*, a pedestrian procession, headed by a drum, and accompanied by a chemise, displayed for a banner. The manual musician sounded the tune of "You roundheaded cuckolds, come dig, come dig!" and nearly seventy coalheavers, carmen, and porters, adorned with large horns, fastened to their heads, followed. The public seemed highly pleased with the nature of the punishment, and gave liberally to the vindicators of injured manhood. Page 211, 4to. ed., 1811.

Pages 119, 120.

The Dutch burning the fleet at Chatham.

Sir John Denham's account of this national disgrace is very characteristic.

"—— Painter! let thine art describe a story,
Shaming our warlike island's ancient glory:
A scene which never on our seas appeared
Since our first ships were on the ocean steered;
Make the Dutch fleet, while we supinely sleep,
Without opposers, masters of the deep:
Make them securely the Thames-mouth invade,
At once depriving us of that, and trade;
Draw thunder from their floating castles, sent
Against our forts, weak as our government:
Draw Woolwich, Deptford, London, and the Tower,
Meanly abandoned to a foreign power.

Yet turn their first attempt another way,
And let their cannons upon Sheerness play;
Which soon destroyed, their lofty vessells ride,
Big with the hope of the approaching tide:
Make them more help from our remissness find,
Than from the tide, or from the eastern wind,
Their canvass swelling with a prosperous gale,
Swift as our fears make them to Chatham sail:
Through our weak chain their fire-ships break their way,
And our great ships (unmanned) become their prey.
Then draw the fruit of our ill-managed coast,
At once our honour and our safety lost:
Bury those bulwarks of our isle in smoke,
While their thick flames the neighbouring country choak;
The Charles escapes the raging element,
To be with triumph into Holland sent;
Where the glad people to the shore resort,
They see their terror now become their sport.
But, Painter! fill not up thy piece before
Thou paint'st confusion on our troubled shore:
Instruct then thy bold pencil to relate
The saddest marks of an ill-governed state.
Draw th' injured seamen deaf to all command,
While some with horror and amazement stand:
Others will know no enemy but they
Who have unjustly robbed them of their pay;
Boldly refusing to oppose a fire,
To kindle which our errors did conspire:
Some (though but few) persuaded to obey,
Useless, for want of ammunition, stay:
The forts designed to guard our ships of war,
Void both of powder and of bullets are:
And what past reigns in peace did ne'er omit,
The present (whilst invaded) doth forget."

Page 120, line 29.

Pett made a scapegoat. This is confirmed in Marvel's Satire (Works, vol. iii., p. 390):

"After this loss, to relish discontent,
Some one must be accused by Parliament;
All our miscarriages on Pett must fall,
His name alone seems fit to answer all.

Whose counsel first did this mad war beget?
Who all commands sold through the navy? *Pett.*
Who would not follow when the Dutch were beat?
Who treated out the time at Bergen? *Pett.*
Who the Dutch fleet with storms disabled met,
And, rifling prizes, them neglected? *Pett.*
Who with false news prevented the Gazette,
The fleet divided, writ for *Rupert?* *Pett.*
Who all our seamen cheated of their debt?
And all our prizes who did swallow? *Pett.*
Who did advise no navy out to set?
And who the forts left unprepared? *Pett.*
Who to supply with powder did forget
Languard, *Sheerness*, *Gravesend*, and *Upnor?* *Pett.*
Who all our ships exposed in Chatham net?
Who should it be but the fanatick *Pett?*
Pett, the sea-architect, in making ships,
Was the first cause of all these naval slips.
Had he not built, none of these faults had been;
If no Creation, there had been no sin:
But his great crime, one boat away he sent,
That lost our fleet, and did our flight prevent."

Page 123, line 5.

William Pierrepont, called "wise Pierrepont," younger son of the first Earl of Kingston, and brother of the Marquis of Dorchester. His grandson, Robert, succeeded as third Earl of Kingston.

Pages 123, 124.

The want of ammunition when the Dutch burnt the fleet, and the revenge of the deserter sailors, is well described by Marvel: (Works, iii., p. 386.)

"Our seamen, whom no dangers' shape could fright,
Unpaid, refuse to mount their ships, for spite:
Or to their fellows swim, on board the Dutch,
Who shew the tempting metal in their clutch.
Oft had (Monk) sent, of *Duncomb* and of *Legge*,
Cannon and powder, but in vain, to beg;
And Upnor Castle's ill-deserted wall,
Now needful does for ammunition call,

He finds, where'er he succour might expect,
Confusion, folly, treachery, fear, neglect."

Page 145, line 24.

The Carterets appear to have mystified Pepys, who eagerly believed all that was told him. At this time, Paris was notoriously unsafe, infested with robbers and beggars, and abominably unclean. Colbert had three daughters, of whom the eldest was just married when Pepys wrote, viz., Jeanne Marie Therèse, to the Duc de Chevreuse, on the 3rd February, 1667. The second daughter, Henriette Louise, was not married to the Duc de St. Aignan till 21st January, 1671; and the third, Marie Anne, to the Duc de Mortemart, 14th February, 1679. Colbert himself was never made a Duke. His highest title was Marquis de Seignelay.

Page 152, line 22.

Possibly a son of James Montagu, of Lackham, third son of the first Earl of Manchester, by his wife, Mary, daughter of Sir R. Baynard, of Lackham, Wilts.

Page 155, line 34.

According to Smith's Obituary, Gabriel Holmes was hanged on the 11th July, 1667, and buried in the new churchyard in the fields, in Cripplegate parish.

Page 174, lines 19 and 20.

Charles owned only four children by Lady Castlemaine —Anne, Countess of Sussex, and the Dukes of Southampton, Grafton and Northumberland. The last of these was born in 1665. The paternity of all her other children was certainly doubtful.

Page 179, line 2.

Solomon Eagle.

Page 183, line 29.

Edward Pepys, of Broomsthorpe, who married Elizabeth Walpole.

Page 194, line 19.

"The History of the Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell, the late Usurper, and pretended Protector of England, &c., truly collected and published for a warning to all tyrants and usurpers, by I. H., Gent. London, printed for F. Coles, at the Lamb, in the Old Bailey, 1663," 4to., pp. 22, reprinted in *Harl. Miscel.*, i., 279.

Page 200, line 21.

The post of Master Falconer was afterwards granted to Charles's son by Nell Gwynne, and is still held by the Duke of St. Albans, as an hereditary office.

Page 207, line 5.

William Barker, who married Martha, daughter of William Turner, and widow of Daniel Williams. His son William was created a baronet in 1676.

Page 208, line 17.

Colonel Werden afterwards held office under James II. and Queen Mary. His eldest son, John, was created a baronet in 1672. See note to p. 138, *ante.*

Page 233, line 3.

Lord Ashly resided in Aldersgate Street. Margaret, daughter of William, Lord Spencer, of Wormleighton, was his third wife, according to Collins; but second according to Dugdale.

Page 247, line 19.

This portrait of Henry VIII., with many other pictures formerly at Audley-End, passed into the hands of the Skeffington family, and were dispersed at the action at Skeffington Hall, many years ago. See Nichols's *Leicestershire.*

Page 258, Note.

See the Earl of Dorset's lines on the play of "Taruga's Wiles," printed amongst his works.

Page 261, line 33.

Lady Berkeley was Christiana, daughter of Sir

Andrew Rickard, and widow of Henry Rich, Lord Kensington.

Page 264, lines 2 and 3.

The Duke of York's shortening sail in the Dutch fight is attributed ironically, by Sir John Denham, to his Duchess's anxiety for his safety :—

"She therefore the Duke's person recommends
To Brouncker, Pen, and Coventry, her friends;
To Pen much, Brouncker more, most Coventry;
For they, she knew, were all more 'fraid than he.
Of flying fishes one had saved the fin,
And hoped by this he through the air might spin;
The other thought he might avoid the knell,
By the invention of the diving bell;
The third had tried it, and affirmed a cable,
Coiled round about him, was impenetrable.
But these the Duke rejected, *only chose*
To keep far off; let others interpose.
* * * *
When a sweet sleep began the Duke to drown,
And with soft diadems his temples crown:
And first he orders all the rest to watch,
And *they* the *foe*, whilst *he* a *nap* doth catch:
But lo, Brouncker, by a secret instinct,
Slept on, nor needed; he all day had winked.
The *Duke* in bed, he then first draws his steel,
Whose virtue makes the misled compass wheel.
So e'er *He* waked, both Fleets were innocent,
And *Brouncker* member is of Parliament."

Page 288, lines 24 and 25.

This is, perhaps, the earliest use of the term "Cabinet Council."

Page 291, Note.

The Earl of Torrington. One Pride, who, as the son of a daughter of an elder brother of *George* D. of Albemarle, claimed to be heir to Duke George, brought an ejectment against the Earl of Bath, (who claimed under a deed from Duke Christopher) in the King's Bench, in Hilary Term, 6 Will. III., attempting to bastardize Duke Christopher,

on the ground mentioned in the note. After a long trial, the jury, not being satisfied with the evidence, found for the Earl of Bath. This case, which is a different and earlier one than that given in the note, is reported in 1 Salkeld, 120, 3 Leving, 410, and Holt, 286. Leving was one of the counsel for the Earl of Bath.

Page 314, line 3.

Guildhall was not destroyed by the Fire, as Pepys seems to intimate. Dance, the architect, did more damage than the flames, with his modern, tasteless fingers. The original roof remained until he was let loose upon the unlucky building.

Page 315, Note 2.

In the "Dream of the Cabal, anno 1672," the Cabal is made to consist of *seven* members, thus—

> "Methought there met the grand Cabal of Seven
> (Odd numbers, some men say, do best please Heaven)."

Page 338, line 29.

The claims of owners, after the fire of London, as settled by the Commissioners, are in the British Museum.

Page 343, Note 1.

The title of Queen Elizabeth's book was "A Godly Medytacyon of the Christian Soules," published by John Bale in 1548.

Page 344, line 18.

The absurd practice of holding up drowning men by the heels, when taken out of the water, occasioned the loss of many lives. The object was to *let the water run out.*

Page 369, Note.

The account of the money expended by Sir P. Honiwood on the fortifications at Portsmouth, between August, 1665, and April, 1667, is in the Sloane MS., 873.

Page 370, line 2.

Sir William Coventry's love of money is said by Sir John Denham to have influenced him in promoting naval officers, who paid him for their commission.

"Then, Painter! draw cerulian Coventry,
Keeper, or rather Chancellor o' th' sea;
And more exactly to express his hue,
Use nothing but *ultra-marinish* blue.
To pay his fees, the silver trumpet spends,
And boatswain's whistle for his place depends.
Pilots in vain repeat their compass o'er,
Until of him they learn that one point more:
The constant magnet to the pole doth hold,
Steel to the magnet, *Coventry* to gold.
Muscovy sells us pitch, and hemp, and tar;
Iron and copper, *Sweden; Munster*, war;
Ashley, prize; *Warwick*, custom; *Carteret*, pay;
But *Coventry* doth sell the fleet away."

Page 390, line 3.

The point of precedence was settled by the Act of Union.

Page 422, line 13.

Sir W. Hooker's daughter was Anne, who married W. Lethieulier.

Page 424, Note.

Voltaire mentions that Fouquet had built at Vaux (now Villars) a house which surpassed in magnificence any palace belonging to Louis XIV., prior to the erection of Versailles, and caused much envy to all the Court, especially to Colbert. "On voyait partout dans cette maison les armes et la devise de Fouquet; c'est un Ecureuil, avec ces paroles, *quò non ascendam?* Où ne monterai-je point? Le Roi se les fit expliquer. L'ambition de cette devise ne servit pas à apaiser le monarque. Les courtisans re marquèrent que l'Ecureuil était peint partout *poursuivi par un Couleuvre, qui était les armes de Colbert!*" Fouquet died at Pignerol in 1680, after

nineteen years' imprisonment; and while Pepys was buying his books in London, Colbert had become Minister in France, and Colbert's brother, Ambassador in England. The viper had caught the squirrel!

Page 451, line 23.

John Donne, the well known Dean of St. Paul's.

Ibid., lines 28 and 29.

Lady Lambert was the wife of the Parliamentary General.

Page 462, Note 2.

At Biddenden, in Kent, is a tradition of the same kind, but, according to Hasted, without foundation. See *History of Kent*, vol. iii., 66 folio.

Page 486, line 21.

The title of this book was, "The honour of the Merchant Taylors; wherein is set forth the noble acts, the valiant deeds, and heroick performances of Merchant Taylors in former ages; their honourable loves and knightly adventures, their combating of foreign enemies and glorious successes in honour of the English nation: together with their pious acts and large benevolences, their building of publick structures, especially that of Blackwell Hall, to be a market-place for the selling of woollen cloaths: Written by William Winstanley. Lond. 1668." 8vo. With the head of Sir Ralph Blackwell, with a gold chain: arms of London on the right, and of the Merchant Taylors on the left.

Page 490, line 30.

The Book of Martyrs was Fox's "Acts and Monuments."

VOL. IV.

Page 108, line 11.

The only printed notice of the dispute between the Temple and the City occurs in Pearce's "History of the

Inns of Court and Chancery," (8vo., 1848), p. 236: "The Lord Mayor (Sir W. Turner) complained to the King, and on the 7th April, 1669, the case was heard before his Majesty in Council. The ringleaders, Mr. Hodges, Mr. Wynn, and Mr. Monday, appeared at the Board, attended by counsel, who were heard on their behalf. Upon consideration, it appearing to the King that the matter very much depended upon the right and privilege of bearing up the Lord Mayor's sword within the Temple, which, by order of Council on the 24th March, in the same year, had been left to be decided by due course of law, his Majesty thought fit to suspend the declaration of his pleasure thereupon, until the said right and privilege should be determined at law." Mr. Tyrrel, the City Remembrancer, has obligingly communicated the only two entries relating to the business, existing in the Corporation Records: the first is an order, dated 23rd March, 1668, for the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c., to attend the Council on the following day; and the other directs the Chamberlain to pay the Town Clerk £23, 14*s.* 6*d.*, by him disbursed for counsel, about the business of the Temple, &c. It would appear, the question remains unsettled to this day.

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CORRESPONDENCE OF SAMUEL PEPYS.

[The Letters marked C. were contributed by the late SAMUEL PEPYS COCKERELL, Esq. from Family Papers in his possession. U. denotes those from the Collection of the late Mr. W. UPCOTT; and the remainder to which B. L. or P. L. are prefixed were copied from the Bodleian or Pepysian Libraries.]

B.L. orig.] *The Earl of Sandwich to S. Pepys.*

August 30, 1665. Under sayle, wind at West.
(Excuse my haste, the Duke of Albemarle hath a list of the fleete.)

Mr. Pepys—Havinge not heard from you of divers dayes, it was very good newes to me to receive your letters, for I was in feare for you of the infection.

Wee have hastily hurried in what provisions wee had by us, and without stayinge for more, or for any other supply of men, wee are now got under sayle. I beleeve wee have neer 15 dayes drincke in the fleete, and our actuall condition will be much as it is stated in the account you sent me, but not soe if wee had continued at whole allowance and beene full manned.

I have written largely of all particulars to none but my brother, Sir Geo. Carteret, with whom I wish you to correspond. There be many thinges necessarye for present care against the fleet's returne; I pray use your best care for them.

God send you good newes of us, and that at my returne I may find your family and my other friends in health and prosperity!—I am, &c., SANDWICH.

B.L. orig.] *The Earl of Sandwich to the Duke of Albemarle.*[1]

(Transmitted to Mr. Pepys.)
On board the Prince, 30 leagues N.N.W. from the Texell, Sepr. 5, 1665.

May itt please your Grace—Since I putt last to sea, on Thursday last, wee had a storme of winde att N.W., which,

[1] *Vide* Diary, vol. ii., p. 228.

God be thanked, did us noe other damage then spoiling the masts of the Diamond, sent in to Harwich, and 40 barrels of the Soveraigne's powder. Separated very few us, though the same upon the coast of Norway much dispersed the Dutch, some of which were light uppon on the 3rd of Sept[r]. Tooke 2 of their East India men, a Straights man, a Malaga man, and 4 men of warre; 3 of them of 50 guns and one of 40 guns, and some other small vessells. I have intelligence the greatest parte of their fleet is about the Walbanck, whither I am now plying, and hope to see them shortly. I thought requisite to send a vessell to informe the King and Duke thus much of us, and your Grace, noe person in the world being a truer and thankfuller servant of your Grace's than, &c.,

SANDWICH.

The Hector is unfortunately sunke, and the Captain and most of her men drowned; only 25 saved. The Captain carried himself exceeding well; helped to take the Vice-admirall of the East Indies, and only putt some men on board her, and went on to engage the men of warre. Capt. Con (Capt. of the Mary) is hurt ill in the foote with a great shott.[1]

B.L.] *S. Pepys to Lady Carteret.*

Woolwich, September 4, 1665.

Dear Madam—Your Ladyship will not (I hope) imagine I expected to be provoked by letters from you to think of the duty I ought and should long since have paid your Ladyship by mine, had it been fit for me (during my indispensable attendance alone in the city) to have ventured the affrighting you with any thing from thence. But now that by the dispatch of the fleet I am at liberty to retire wholly to Woolwich, where I have been purging my inkhorn and papers these six days, your Ladyship shall find no further cause to reproach me my silence. And in amends for what's past, let me conjure you, Madam, to believe that no day hath passed since my last

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[1] *Prizes taken on the 3rd and 4th of September.*

Surprizers.	Men of warre 4, viz.	Men.	Guns.
Assurance .	West Frezeland—Capt. Peter Clawson	220	50
Anthelope .	The 7 Oakes	250	54
Adventure .	A man of warre of	220	50
Mary . .	A man of warre of . . .	190	40
		880	

kissing your hands without my most interested wishes for your health and uninterrupted prosperity of your Ladyship and family.

I took care for the present disposal of what were inclosed in your Ladyship's to me; and, in answer to that to Dagenhams, return these from my Lady Wright, who, in hers to myself, gives assurance of my Lord Hinchingbroke's being got up, and the health of the rest of her family.

My Lord Sandwich is gone to sea, with a noble fleet, in want of nothing but a certainty of meeting the enemy.

My best Lady Sandwich, with the flock at Hinchingbrook, was, by my last letters, very well.

The absence of the Court and emptiness of the city takes away all occasion of news, save only such melancholy stories as would rather sadden than find your Ladyship any divertisement in the hearing; I having stayed in the city till above 7,400 died in one week, and of them above 6000 of the plague, and little noise heard day nor night but tolling of bells; till I could walk Lumber-street, and not meet twenty persons from one end to the other, and not 50 upon the Exchange; till whole families, 10 and 12 together, have been swept away; till my very physician, Dr. Burnet, who undertook to secure me against

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Of 3 East India men and 7 other merchants.

		Tons.	Men.
Adventure Hector	The Phœnix, an East India merchant, being the V. Adm[l], burthen		150
Plymouth Mitford	The Slotheny, another East India mercht., being the R. Admirall, burthen		150
Ruby	Another Streights mercht. soe engaged that they sett her on fire		
Adventure	A mercht. man from Lisbon		40
Guinea	A mercht. man from the Straights		40
Mars	A mercht. man from Malaga		24
Dover	The William and Mary of Rotterdam. In her 150 barrels of powder, shott, paper, &c. for De Ryter		15
	Fountaine of Schedam, a busse, laden with clawboards, bound for Malaga		8
Colchester	A small vessell		12
Pembroke	A vessell laden with clawboards, bound for Bordeaux		8
			447
			880
			1327

any infection, having survived the month of his own being shut up, died himself of the plague; till the nights, though much lengthened, are grown too short to conceal the burials of those that died the day before, people being thereby constrained to borrow daylight for that service: lastly, till I could find neither meat nor drink safe, the bucheries being every where visited, my brewer's house shut up, and my baker, with his whole family, dead of the plague.

Yet, Madam, through God's blessing, and the good humours begot in my attendance upon our late Amours,[1] your poor servant is in a perfect state of health, as well as resolution of employing it as your Ladyship and family shall find work for it.

How Deptford stands, your Ladyship is, I doubt not, informed from nearer hands.

Greenwich begins apace to be sickly; but we are, by the command of the King, taking all the care we can to prevent its growth; and meeting to that purpose yesterday, after sermon, with the town officers, many doleful informations were brought us, and, among others, this, which I shall trouble your Ladyship with the telling.—Complaint was brought us against one in the town for receiving into his house a child newly brought from an infected house in London. Upon inquiry, we found that it was the child of a very able citizen in Gracious Street, who, having lost already all the rest of his children, and himself and wife being shut up and in despair of escaping, implored only the liberty of using the means for the saving of this only babe, which with difficulty was allowed, and they suffered to deliver it, stripped naked, out at a window into the arms of a friend, who, shifting it into fresh cloathes, conveyed it thus to Greenwich, where, upon this information from Alderman Hooker,[2] we suffer it to remain.

This I tell your Ladyship as one instance of the miserable streights our poor neighbours are reduced to.

But, Madam, I'll go no further in this disagreeable discourse, hoping, from the coolness of the last 7 or 8 days, my next may bring you a more welcome accompt of the lessening of the disease, which God say Amen to.

Dear Madam, do me right to my good Lady Slaning, in telling her that I have sent and sent again to Mr. Porter's

[1] The marriage of Lady Carteret's son, and Lord Sandwich's daughter.—See Diary, vol. ii., p. 207.

[2] See vol. ii., p. 224.

lodging, who is in the country, for an answer to my letter about her Ladyship's business, but am yet unable to give her any accompt of it.

My wife joins with me in ten thousand happy wishes to the young couple, and as many humble services to your Ladyship and them, my Lady Slaning, Lady Scott, and Mr. Sidny, whose return to Scotts-hall, if not burthensome to your Ladyship, will, I am sure, be as full of content to him as it will ever be of joy and honour to me to be esteemed,

Dearest Madam,
Your Ladyship's most affectionate and
obedient servant,

SAMUEL PEPYS.

B.L. orig.] *Sir W^m^ Coventry to S. Pepys.*

Oxford, November 7, 1665.

Sir—Yours of 4th I have receaved with the enclosed, for which I return you thankes. Some recompences, I well remember, in the Dutch warre, which much exceeded those sette down, as to Capt^n^ Ball £1,200, and others in the same booke and folio. If I were at St. James's, my notes would referre mee to it; but these may bee more proper for the ordinary rewards, which God send the King may goe through with; for the extraordinary, hee may doe as hee pleaseth upon emergencies.

I am glad Rear-Admiral Harman has sailed: if God send him good lucke, I hope our reputation may out-goe the Dutch yet. For the close of the yeare, I thinke such a Committee of Commanders as my Lord Sandwich mentions may bee very good, if well chosen: pray desire my Lord he propose some fitt men for it. I did send to tempt the Commanders in the fleet to enquire into the vast and extravagant expence of victualls, but could gett noe returne of it. Something Sir W^m^ Penn hath sent me, a draught for a Supplimentall Instruction to Commanders, of which, either by this or the next conveyance, you shall have a copy. It is not hard to make good rules, but to gett them executed is the difficulty, especially when there is soe much worke to doe, and that Commanders and all sort of Officers knowe their owne value enough to beleeve that the King would not easily part with a good fighting Captain for a neglect of keeping a good checque upon his Purser. However, pray lett us try what can bee done in

itt: possibly, when the rule comes recommended from the Commanders themselves, it will bee better observed. I will alsoe write to my Lord Sandwich about it.

My last gave you my reasons against your coming hither: because Sir G. Carteret was gone to London to gett money, and, at the time of his being there, I held your presence necessary there.

For God's sake, hasten some clothes to Portsmouth. If the Board be satisfied in the need of a Boatswain of the Yard at Harwich as yett, I shall be ready to procure the warrant for any man whoe shall bee well certified for it. For the matter of hempe, all I can say is, *oportet haberi;* and then, *redime te captum quam queas minimo.*

If money bee not speedily procured, I expect every day shall produce worse and worse effects: but I hope Mr. Vice-Chamberlaine[1] will cure all that mischeife.

I am sorry Sir W^m^ Batten hath bin soe rudely handeled, and that the Office hath lost its security. I hope a supply of money will sett it all right; and could heartily wish the Court were neerer London, to bee ready both to advise and execute better than at this distance wee can doe. I hope a little more decrease of the plague will make somebody valiant enough to advise it; though, it concerning his Majesty's and his Royal Highness's safety, I am not soe corragious, at least as yett, though I confesse I wish it.

The expedient you offer of buying the seamen's ticketts, if it were certaine that it would bee exactly and sacredly executed, were an excellent one, and worthy the King's paying the abatement, that soe the seamen might receave the whole, which is, above all, to bee endeavoured: but, though I have a good opinion of the person you named, yet I cannot say I am sure noe more profitt should bee made, and nothing abated, unlesse there were a place appointed, and a sett hire for it; when a clarke, or some trusty person, might attend to see it done. What shall be approved for one man in this matter, will soone bee altered for others alsoe, and at last it will fall into hands to make ill use of it. Why might not the money be as well paid to the Treasurer, and then issued only for ticketts? but, I suppose, the answer may bee, money will thus issue only by small summes, and soe easier compassed. To that I can reply nothing, but that, if it can bee done noe otherwise to take off the reproach to the King's service and abuse to the seamen, I am of opinion

[1] Sir G. Carteret.

there ought to bee a checque upon it. If you thinke fitt to speake with Sir G. Carteret upon it, perhaps some good may come of it: if any thing bee done, pray lett me heare. I am cleare of opinion the King had better beare twice the losse of 12*d.* per T. then lett the seamen bear itt.

It is most necessary the men to the westward should bee then supplied with clothes: it is well if the slopsellers can furnish the rest of the ships. If Sir John Skelton or any else will furnish them, hee shall doe a good service. If the price were greater, and the clothes better, the seamen would bee a gainer.

I shall, the first Councill Day, propose Mr. Furiers complaint of the Justice.

I doubt I have burned Captain Reynolds his letter of his brave retreate from the Dutch fleet: if I find it, I will send it to you, but I thinke it will not conduce to your purpose, hee having bin only at Hull, as I conceave, and not at Newcastle, where, I suppose, M^r^ Deerings ships are.

I am, your affectionate humble Servant,

W. COVENTRY.

According to the hopes there may be of having the ships ready, which are building at or neere Bristoll, so must there be provision made of victualls for them at Bristoll, and not at Milford; that soe noe time may bee lost to run from one port to another for victualls. Pray know by what time each contract-ship building may bee ready, and send mee word how many ships we expect to bee built in all, for I thinke some were ordered and others forbid after I went to sea.

Sir W^m^ Penn hath sent mee reasons which seeme to me of good force, for paying the Soveraigne by ticketts, rather then by a pay at Chatham. I hope the Board will think so.

B.L. orig.] *William, Lord Brouncker to S. Pepys.*

Chatham, 3rd July, 1667.

Sir—Not only, in my own opinion, is the chain broke, but, in the opinion of, I think, all who have been with me there at any time, and have well considered the lying of the floots, whereof but three at most remain. And hitherto wee could do no more than guesse, because yet wee could nether spare hands nor lighter to underrunn it: but now I entend to remove it as high as the battery next

below the castle, and place before, that is, below it, a boome of masts; which done, I will trye the force thereof with the Guilder de Ruse, which was never done at Gillingham; nor was it laid, as is said, above two or three dayes before the enemy appear'd; nor was it made of Spanish iron.

I found in my chamber an Indian staffe, which I supposed was yours, and therefore sent it you yesterday by M^rs^ Williams, who came hither the day before to give me a visit. Adieu! I am, &c. BROUNCKER.

B.L. orig.] *John Evelyn to S. Pepys.*

Sayes-Court, 26th January—67–8.

Sir—I am heartily asham'd I could not performe your commands before now. It was Friday ere I could possibly get home; and, since I am here, I have ben so ill, that I was not able to bestow the paines I intended on the scheme[1] I send you, which will onely serve you to preserve our reproach in memory, and my little skill in designing: but I have done it as I could, and as it appear'd to me from the hill above Gillingham. The draught, which I follow for Chatham River, is from an old paper lying by me, and not from any printed map; and some of the flexures I have presumed to reforme, as I think at least, as the river then presented itself to my eye. You must excuse the defects of,

Sir, your most humble Servant, J. EVELYN.

The extreame whiteness of my ink also deceived me.

C.] *S. Pepys to John Evelyn.*

8th February, 1667–8.

Sir—You will not wonder at the backwardness of my thanks for the present you made me, so many days since, of the Prospect of Medway, while the Hollander rode master in it, when I have seriously told you that the sight of it hath led me to such reflections on my particular interest, by my employment, in the reproach due to that miscarriage, as have given me little less disquiet than he is fancied to have, who found his face in Michael Angelo's Hell. The same should serve me also, in excuse for my silence in the celebrating your mastery shown in the

[1] See the plate taken from the original sketch in the Bodleian Library.

design and draught, did not indignation rather than courtship urge me so far to commend them, as to wish the furniture of our House of Lords changed from the story of 88 to that of 67[1] (of Evelyn's designing), till the pravity of this were reformed to the temper of that age, wherein God Almighty found his blessing more operative than, I fear, he doth in our's, his judgments. Adieu!

You most affectionate and most humble Servant,

S. P.

C.] *S. Pepys to the Earl of Sandwich.*

29th September, 1668.

May it please your Lordship—Just now are arrived the tidings of your Lordship's safe arrival at Portsmouth, which I beg your Lordship to believe me to receive with that welcomeness which is due to whatever, by the greatest obligations of duty and gratitude, I ought most to be concerned for. I am not without hopes of getting leave to wait upon your Lordship before you reach London; therefore shall spare the troubling your Lordship with any other present matters, than that being yesterday made acquainted by my Lord of Hinchingbroke, and Mr. Sidney Montague, with the straights they found themselves under of providing a sum of money for the answering your Lordship's present occasions; and, being unwilling your Lordship should want what part thereof I could by any shift supply, I undertook, for the present, furnishing your Lordship with £500; and not knowing what present use thereof your Lordship might have at Portsmouth, nor what conveniencies my Lord of Hinchingbroke might have of a speedy remitting any thither, I acquainted his Lordship this night, that I would take care for your Lordship's being furnished with £200 there; which I have done by the enclosed bill to Mr. Salisbury, not only for that sum, but that your Lordship might be the less straightened, for the whole £500: though the more your Lordship leaves to receive here, the better it would suit with my occasions to comply therewith.

I shall need not to say any thing particularly touching the healthful state of your Lordship's family, believing that that will be abundantly told your Lordship by others. The freshest Court news is, that Sir John Trevor was this

[1] The tapestry representing the defeat of the Armada, destroyed when the House of Lords was burnt.

day sworn Secretary of State in the room of Sir William Morrice, and Prince Rupert invested in the Constableship of Windsor Castle; both purchased: the former for £8,000, and latter for £3,500.

The King and Queen are at this time at supper at my Lady Carteret's. To-morrow morning his Majesty and the Duke of York set out for a month's progress towards Norfolk and Suffolk.

I have written to Mr. Deane, his Majesty's shipwright at Portsmouth, an ingenious as well as a sober man, to attend your Lordship, for the receiving your commands in any thing wherein he may be serviceable to your Lordship during your stay there, who I know will readily embrace them. So, with the tenders of my most humble duty to your Lordship, I take my leave.

May it please your Lordship, your Lordship's most obedient and faithful Servant, S. P.

The ill state of my eyes has not allowed me to read or write thus much for several months, but by the help of another's, which, I hope, will excuse me to your Lordship, in my not appearing with my own hand here.

C.] *S. Pepys to Captain Thomas Elliott.*

One of the Bailiffs at Aldborough.

Aldborough, July 1, 1669.

Captain Elliott—Upon the late arrival of the news of Sir Robert Brookes's death, who served as one of the Burgesses for the town of Aldborough, his R. H. was pleased, upon considerations of his own, to command me to endeavour after the procurement of the election of myself into this vacancy, an honour which I should not of myself have pretended to, as among other reasons, so in particular from my being wholly a stranger to that corporation. But his R. H. having been thus pleased to think upon me, with a resolution of engaging his whole interest in the accomplishing of it, I think it my duty to obey him therein; and, in order thereto, to direct my first applications to yourself, whom his R. H. is pleased to pitch upon, as one of those endeavours in the promoting of all, his Highness rests most assured: and in an especial manner relies upon your capacity and influence for doing the same in this particular. The inclosed will deliver you his Highness's mind under his own hand; and more particularly by another from Mr. Wren, to which I must

be referred, having never yet had the good fortune of serving you in any thing that might oblige you to the exercise of your interest and kindness in my behalf. But as your favour herein will be very acceptable to his R. H., so will it engage, not only myself singly, but the whole body of this Office, upon all future occasions, to press their sense of your kindness shown to one of its members. Besides, that if his Highness's desire herein do succeed, I do not despair of having opportunity of showing myself a faithful and useful servant to the corporation. I shall not think it needful to offer you any advice touching the method of your proceedings, but submit the whole to your prudence: and I pray you to believe, that I will see you fully and thankfully reimbursed for what charges shall attend the same; and pray that you will please to give me a speedy account of your thoughts and advice how his R. H.'s influence, or any other recommendation, may be most advantageously employed and directed for the obtaining of these our desires.

This is all the trouble you shall at present receive from

Your most affect. friend and humble servt., S. P.

C.] *The Duke of York to Lord Henry Howard.*

July 10, 1669.

My Lord Howard—I receive with very great kindness your answer to my late request about Mr. Pepys, it being such as gives me not only assurance of your respects to me in general, but grounds of expecting a good issue to my desire, by the assistance of your interest in this particular; though Mr. Duke is not likely to contribute any thing to it. I shall make such use of the blank you entrust me with to the town, as you shall be well satisfied with; and, being very sensible of the readiness with which you have obliged me in this matter,

Remain, your affectionate friend,

For my Lord Howard. JAMES.

C.] *The Duke of York to the Town of Aldborough in Suffolk.*

July 16, 1669.

Gentlemen—Being informed of the death of Sir Robert Brookes, who served in Parliament as one of the Burgesses of your Corporation, I recommend to your favour, in your

future election, Samuel Pepys, Esq., one of the Commissioners of the Navy, who, besides his general qualifications for that trust, will, I assure myself, be found on all occasions a useful servant to your town: and what kindness he shall receive from you in this matter, I shall esteem as a testimony of your respect to me.

I am, your loving friend, JAMES.

U. orig.] *S. Pepys to John Evelyn.*

Navy Office, November 2, 1669.

Sir—I beg you to believe that I would not have been ten days returned into England without waiting on you, had it not pleased God to afflict mee by the sickness of my wife, who, from the first day of her coming back to London, hath layn under a fever so severe as at this hour to render her recoverie desperate; which affliction hath very much unfitted me for those acts of civilitie and respect which, amongst the first of my friends, I should have paid to yourselfe, as he to whom singly I owe y^e^ much greater part of y^e^ satisfaction I have met with in my late voyage. Next to you, I have my acknowledgm^ts^ to make to S^r^ Samuel Tuke, to whom, when in a condition of doing it, I shall beg your introducing me, for the owning of my obligations to him on the like behalfe. But, S^r^, I beg you heartilie to despense with the ceremonie, till I am better qualified for paying it; and in y^e^ mean time receive the enclosed, which I should with much more satisfaction have delivered with my owne hand.

I am, Sir, your most obliged and obedient Serv^t^,

S. PEPYS.

I most humbly kiss your ladies hands, and pray my service may be presented to S^r^ Rich^d^ Browne.

C.] *S. Pepys to Captain Elliott, at Aldborough.*

March 3rd, 1669-70.

Captain Elliott—I beg you earnestly to believe that nothing but the sorrow and distraction I have been in by the death of my wife, increased by the suddenness with which it pleased God to surprise me therewith, after a voyage so full of health and content, could have forced me to so long a neglect of my private concernments; this being, I do assure you, the very first day that my affliction,

together with my daily attendance on other public occasions of his Majesty's, has suffered me to apply myself to the considering any part of my private concernments; among which, that of my doing right to you is no small particular: and therefore, as your charity will, I hope, excuse me for my not doing it sooner, so I pray you to accept now, as late as it is, my hearty thanks for your multiplied kindness in my late affair at Aldborough;[1] and in particular, your courteous providing of your own house for my reception, had I come down; the entertainment you were also pleased to prepare for me, together with your other great pains and charges in the preserving that interest which you had gained, in reference to his Royal Highness's and my Lord Howard's desire on my behalf: in all which I can give you good assurance, that not only his Royal Highness retains a thankful memory of your endeavours to serve him, but I shall take upon me the preserving it so with him that it may be useful to you when you shall have any occasion for asking his favour. The like I dare promise you from my Lord Howard, when he shall return; and both from them and myself make this kindness of yours, and the rest of those gentlemen of the town who were pleased to concur with you, as advantageous both to yourself and them, and to the Corporation also, as if the business had succeeded to the best of our wishes: and this I assure you, whether I shall ever hereafter have the honour of serving them in Parliament or not, having no reason to receive any thing with dissatisfaction in this whole matter, saving the particular disrespect which our noble master, the Duke of York, suffered from the beginning to the end, from Mr. Duke and Captain Shippman, who, I doubt not, may meet with a time of seeing their error therein. But I am extremely ashamed to find myself so much outdone by you in kindness, by your not suffering me to know the expense which this business has occasioned you; which I again entreat you to let me do, esteeming your pains, without that of your charge, an obligation greater than I can foresee opportunity of requiting, though I shall by no means omit to endeavour it. So with a repetition of my hearty acknowledgments of all your kindness, with my service to yourself and lady, and all my worthy friends about you,

I remain, your obliged friend and humble servant,

S. P.

[1] His unsuccessful election contest.

U. Orig.] *S. Pepys to Sir R. Brown.*

Navy Office, March 26, 1670.

Honoured S^r—I have a suddaine occasion offered me of askeing your friendshipp, as well as a full assurance that I shalle not want it. Tis this: M^r Ascew, Clerk of Trinity-house, is dead. I have a brother of my own (John Pepys) whose relation to me could not tempt me to this motion, were it not that his sobriety, diligence, and education, being a scholer, and I think in every respect qualified for the employment, in a very different proportion to what Mr. Ascew's education could render him, doth leade me to think it a service to y^e Corporation to offer him to them.[1] I ayme not soe much at y^e sallarie for him, as the opportunitie, by this meanes, of introducing him to that sort of business for which I have for some time designed him. He is about thirty years of age, unmarried; his life that of a Scholar's, as, having resided in the Universitie, till, having past three or four yeares Master of Arts, I called him thence some time since to my owne tuition, and that acquaintance with business which my trade could leade him to. Now, S^r, knowing your influence upon the Society of Trinity-House, I pray you soe far to trust my report in this matter, as to thinke it worthy of your countenance by a word or two betweene this and Wednesday next, either to the body of that house, or such members of it as you thinke may be most operative, in conjunction with that assistance which your recommendation shall receive from my Lord Sandwich, Lord Craven, and my brethren of this Office, who have promised me to concern themselves thorowly in y^is matter, besides a lt^r which his Royal Highness was pleased to give mee on y^e same behalfe.

Your particular favour herein shall be owned with all possible expressions of thankfulness by

Your obedient Servant, S. PEPYS.

B.L. orig.] *Matthew Wren to S. Pepys.*

November 9th, 1670.

Sir—His Majesty, having accidentally heard of some dispute between you and the Resident of Sweden,[2] to prevent any further inconvenience that may happen, has,

[1] John Pepys got the appointment.

[2] See Note, in Addenda, pp. 195, 196, *ante*.

by my Lord Arlington, Principal Secretary of State, signified his pleasure to me to require you neither to send any chalenge to the said Resident of Sweden, nor to accept of any from him; but that, as soon as you receive this, you immediately attend the Lord Arlington.

I am, your most humble Servant, M. WREN.

B.L. orig.] *H. Savile to S. Pepys.*

Burlington Bay, Prince, August 14, 1672.

Sir—His Royal Highness has commanded me to write to you to send away, with all possible dispatch, to Southwold Bay, the chaloupe that hee ordered should bee made for Mons^r^ le Comte d'Estrées, that hee may have it ready for him when wee are there, which wee shall bee in a very little time, if his Highness's resolutions are not prevented by ill weather, or some other unavoideble accidents.

Hee has farther ordered mee to acquaint you that, upon a report wee have heer, that Sir Rob. Paston is to bee called to the House of Lords, hee spoake to my Lord Harry Howard that you might be Burgesse of Rising, which his Lordship has very willingly consented to, both out of obedience to the Duke's commands, and out of kindnesse to you; and, therefore, it will bee your part to watche Sir Robert's promotion, and inquire into the truth of it, and acquaint my Lord H. Howard with it. I hope you have receaved the letter I sent you by the Duke's command, to assure you of the care hee will take in your owne private affayre, which hee mentioned to you the last time you were with him. I heartily wishe that, during the short time of my being in office, some opportunity would happen of showing you with how much truth I am Your most faithful humble Servant,

HEN. SAVILE.

B.L. orig.] *B. St. Michel to S. Pepys.*

Deale, August 14, 1672.

Hon^d^. Sir—You dayly and howerly soe comble me with, not only expressions, but allsoe deeds of your worthyness and goodness, as well to my selfe as the rest of your most devoted humble creaturs heare, that I am as well as my poor drooping mother, whoose continuall illness, since the death of my father, gives me but litell hopes shee will survive him longe, only but to be some-

thing longer a living wittness of your dearness to her poore childe, your late deare consort, my beloved sister, by that your noble, worthy, and kinde expresions, and promices to be still her benefactor; for which shee hath only, saith shee, the capasity left her to bless God for your prosperity, and to continue still her prayers to the Allmighty God to power upon you and yours multitude of heavenly blessings: these, Sir, are her owne expresions, and I am sure, from the very botome of her harte and sowle. I am then, Sir, as I said, confuted in my selfe how I may ever strive to deserve the least of those your manyfould, gracious, good, kinde, fatherly, and deare, not only expresions, but effects, which I for ever shall owne.

Well, Sir, since I fear it will never lye in my power to serve you as I ought, without devoteing my life and fortunes at your feete, be pleased to acept and comande both upon all occasions, which you will finde with soe much zeale still, for you and your cause, that never man living will ever be named more gratefull, as I am in duty bounde, to your favours, and more zealous for your consernes and interest, then him who is proude to be, Sir,

Your most faithfull and obedient humble serv^{t},

B. S^{T} MICHEL.

Litell Samuel, whoe speakes now very pretely, desiers to have his most humble duty presented to his most honrd Uncle and Godfather, which please to accept from your most humble litell disiple.

This day the Dragon is come into the Downes, which, to-moroe, God willing, I intend to muster. Pray present my most kinde and humble service to my cosen John Pepys. B. S^{T} M.

B.L. orig.] *T. Povy to S. Pepys.*

August 31, 1672.

Sir—I had this morning full discourse with the Lord Howard, who was telling mee how hee finds himself oppressed with his prerogative of recommending on elections; and how hee stands engaged to the King for Sir Francis North, to the Duchess of Cleveland for Sir John Trevor, hir councill and feoffee, and to the Duke for you; telling me by what circumstances the Duke attacked him: and I find not that hee hath any hesitation in the complying with the Duke on your behalf; though hee bee in much distraction how hee shall accommodate the other 2

persons. The present expedient is the putting what interests and force hee can for the getting the Sollicitor elected at Lyn. Yet in that particular hee conflicts with a great dilemma; because Cook, a youth of the principall estate in Norfolk, stands at Lyn, and his Lordship is tender of giving him an opposition there, because the gent. of the countrie doe alreadie murmur at his disposing those places, upon which hee hath a full and perticular influence, upon strangers and courtiers, neglecting gentlemen of the countrie, who hold themselves disobliged thereby; and are more reasonably, perhaps, dissatisfied, that he concernes himself at Lyn alsoe, where hee ought to leave them to a free competition, without concerning himself.

I took noe notice that I had heard any thing of his concession to the Duke: but my advice is, that you goe on Monday to give him a visitt at Arundell House, where I am sure you will not find him; but you are to see the porter, to write down your name, and not forget the acquainting his Lordship that you were to waite on him. Hee goes on Monday into Surrey, to return on Tuesday; and perhaps to goe with the King on Wensday to the Fleet, where hee will receive your letter. It is not doubted but Sir Robert[1] will have his promised title, though I cannot yet heare that any thing is yet don in it. I shall enquire somewhat more closely, and you shall receive what can bee collected by, Sir,

T. Povy.

B.L. orig.] *Sir William Coventry to S. Pepys.*

Minster Lovell, June 25, 73.

S^r^—You may reasonably imagine, when you see a letter from mee, that it is to congratulate your new employment, which I persuade my selfe you will as easily beleeve mee to rejoyce at, as any man whatsoever; and should have acquiesced in that persuasion, without giving you the trouble of telling you soe, had I not bin sollicited by a servant of mine to intreat y^r^ favour to a brother of his, whose name is Robert Krewstub: my servant tells mee hee hath, during this and the last warre, bin employed as steward in the Navy; his ambition is to become a purser, of which hee doubts not to make his capacity evident, and to give good security. I know you, and the place you execute, too well to thinke it fitt for mee to recommend an unfitt man to you; but if hee appeare fitt for it, I doe

[1] Sir Robert Paston.

very seriously entreat your favour to him. I am very unlikely ever to make you a returne, unlesse you have occasion to keepe a running horse at Burford, in which case I offer you my diligence to overlooke him ; therefore, you have it in your power to lay an obligation upon mee, without the least prospect of interest to sully it. I wish all you oblige may bee, as much as my selfe, and, if soe, you will bee happier then some of your predecessors, Sir,

Your aff. humble Servant, W. COVENTRY.

B.L. orig.] *D^r H. Burton to S. Pepys.*

Magdalene College, April 9, 1677.

Sir—The foundation of that building in our College to which you are pleased to contribute is now laid, and they begin to want moneys to go on with it. I have said enough to tell you my business, which is to desire you wil send yours to M^r William Potts, an apothecary, who lives at the Elephant and Castle, near St. Antholin's Church, in Queen Street, London, who is appointed Receiver in the city.

Sir, I would not have put you to so much trouble, but the indispensible busines has forced mee.

Sir, I am,

Your most obliged and humble Servant,

HEZE. BURTON.

C.] *S. Pepys to George, Lord Berkeley.*

Derby House, 22d February, 1677–8.

My Lord—I am greatly owing to your Lordship for your last favour at St. John's, and did, till now, reckon myself under no less a debt to my Ladies for the honour at the same time done me, in their commands touching Mr. Bonithan. But, my Lord, I have lately had the misfortune of being undeceived in the latter, by coming to know the severity with which some of my Ladies are pleased to discourse of me in relation thereto. I assure your Lordship, I was so big with the satisfaction of having an opportunity given me by my Ladies at once of obliging them, paying a small respect to you, and doing a good office to a deserving gentleman, that I did not let one day pass before I had bespoke and obtained his Majesty's and Royal Highness's promise of favour in Mr. Bonithan's

behalf: and was so far afterwards from failing him in my further assistances with Captain Trevanion and others, that I took early care to secure him a lieutenancy, by a commission actually signed for him by the king, in the ship Stavereene, relying upon the character Captain Trevanion had given me of his capacity to abide the examination, established by the King, upon the promotion of lieutenants; which was not only the most I should have done in the case of a brother, but more than ever I did in any man's case before, or, for his sake, do think I shall ever do again. True it is, my Lord, that when, upon his examination by the officers of the Navy, he was found not so fully qualified for the office of lieutenant as was requisite, I did with all respect, and to his seeming satisfaction, advise him to pass a little longer time in the condition he was then in, under a stricter application of himself to the practice of navigation. And, in pursuance of my duty to the King, I did acquaint him also with Mr. Bonithan's present unreadiness; and had, therefore, a command given me for confirming the commission prepared for him upon another, who, upon examination, at the same time with Mr. Bonithan, was found better qualified for it.[1] As to what I understand my Ladies are pleased to entertain themselves and others with, to my reproach, as if money had been wanting in the case, it is a reproach lost upon me, my Lord, who am known to be so far from needing any purgation in the point of selling places, as never to have taken so much as my fee for a commission or warrant to any one officer in the navy, within the whole time, now near twenty years, that I have had the honour of serving His Majesty therein—a self-denial at this day so little in fashion, and yet so chargeable to maintain, that I take no pride, and as little pleasure, in the mentioning it, further than as it happily falls in here to my defence against the mistake the Ladies seem disposed to arraign me by on this occasion. Besides that, in the particular case of this gentleman, Lieut. Beele, who enjoys the commission designed for Mr. Bonithan, he is one whose face I never saw either before or since the time of his receiving it, nor know one friend he has in the world to whom he owes this benefit, other than the King's justice and his own modest merit: which, having said, it remains only that I assure your Lordship what I have so

[1] The Report of the Navy Commissioners, certifying Bonithan's insufficiency and Beele's competency to manage a ship, was enclosed in the letter.

said, is not calculated with any regard to, much less any repining at, the usage the Ladies are pleased to show me in this affair, for 'tis fit I bear it, but to acquit myself to your Lordship in my demeanour towards them, as becomes their and, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,

S. P.

C.] *Lord Berkeley to S. Pepys.*

Berkeley House, February 23, 1677–8.

Good Mr. Pepys—Though I thank you for the favour of your letter, yet I confess myself both much surprised and troubled to receive a letter from you upon such an occasion: so is my wife, who professes herself wholly innocent of any crime of charging you in thought, word, or deed, and hopes you will do her that right to believe so of her. My daughter[1] Berkeley says she expressed some trouble that the friend she recommended had not success, and that she was told the Commissioners of the Navy did report they had given the same recommendations of the person she proposed, as they did of him that was accepted, for the lieutenant's place; which my daughter, supposing to be true, wondered the more he lost the preferment: but, by the copies enclosed in your's, it appears her Ladyship was very much misinformed. As for Mrs. Henrietta,[2] she is extremely troubled in saying any thing that gave you offence; and, though she did not in the least intend it, yet she begs your pardon. And now, my good friend, though I am not under any accusation, and therefore need not say any thing to vindicate myself, yet give me leave, upon this occasion, to assure you, that there is no person has a better opinion of you than myself, nor is more sensible of your particular civilities to me; which I should be very glad to make a return of when in my power to serve you: and give me leave to add further, without flattery to you, and with great sincerity, that I believe our gracious master, His Majesty, is so fortunate in employing you in his service, that, if he should lose you, it would be very difficult for his Majesty to find a successor so well qualified in all respects for his service, if we consider both

[1] Probably Elizabeth, daughter of Baptist Noel, Viscount Campden, married to Sir Charles Berkeley, K.B., Lord B.'s eldest son.

[2] Lord Berkeley's youngest daughter, who afterwards eloped with her brother-in-law, Ford, Lord Grey.

your integrity, vast abilities, industry, and zealous affections for his service; and, if his Majesty were asked the question, I will hold ten to one His Majesty declares himself of my opinion; so will I believe all that know you, more especially our fellow-traders, that are so conversant with you and obliged by you.

This is asserted as a great truth by, Sir,

Your very affectionate and hearty friend and Servant,

BERKELEY.

C.] *S. Pepys to Thomas Pepys of Lynn Regis.*

February 1, 1678-9.

Good Cousin—I do kindly thank you for your letter of yesterday, assuring you that I am not surprised, much less under any disappointment, from the contents of it; I knowing the world too well to expect more than is to be found in it: and I think mine to you did enough show you what I asked was rather out of respect to the town of Castle Rising, as having once been their servant,[1] than from any such advantage I propose to myself by it, as would suffer me to give way to your entering upon any expense for it; I having the good fortune of being so much better understood elsewhere, as to have at this time invitations from the magistracy of no less than three[2] several Corporations, of somewhat greater names, though not more in my esteem than that of theirs, to accept of their elections. Therefore, pray be under no further care on my behalf in this matter; the satisfaction of having discharged my duty to the gentlemen of Castle Rising being all I aim at, without troubling myself to reflect upon any forgetfulness on their parts towards me. As for those two worthy persons who now stand for their favours, Sir Robert Howard and Sir John Baber, they are both my honoured friends,[3] and as far as any interest of mine can bestead them, I do readily resign it to them.

And for the kindness I have received on this occasion from yourself, I shall always most thankfully own it by

[1] In the preceding Parliament.

[2] The three Corporations were Portsmouth; one of the Isle of Wight boroughs, of which Sir Robert Holmes was patron; and Harwich, for which Pepys was returned.

[3] The two candidates, *Pepys's honoured friends*, were at the very time occupied in raising a *No Popery cry* against him, at Castle Rising.—*MS., Pepys's Letters.*

whatever testimony thereof I may be able to give, by suitable services to you and your family, remaining

Your truly affectionate kinsman and humble Servant,

S. P.

C.] *S. Pepys to Col. Legge at Portsmouth.*

13th February, 1678–9, at night.

Sir—Since I wrote to you by express, His R. H. being then abroad a-hunting, I have had opportunities to attend him with an account of yours to me this morning, and mine since to you, with His Majesty's and my Lord Treasurer's commands touching Sir John Ernle,[1] who I now understand from His R. H. is in town, and has spoken to His R. H. concerning this matter; and received for answer, what, by the Duke's command, I have now to acquaint you with; which is, that Colonel Norton, having, as you write, finally declined standing for the town,[2] resolving to apply himself for Knight of the Shire, His R. H. does think it of great moment to His Majesty that Sir John Ernle be provided for, and that therefore all endeavours be used by Sir John Kempthorne, declining it; and otherwise that Sir John Ernle be chosen, in company with you, for that place. Which leaving with you by the Duke's command,

I remain, your most humble servant, S. P.

C.] *The Earl of Danby to Col. Legge.*

(Transmitted through Mr. Pepys.)

London, 13th February, 1678–9.

Sir—Mr. Pepys being returned to town, His Majesty has commanded him to do all he can for the election of Sir John Ernle at Portsmouth; and hearing that Sir John Kempthorne designs to stand, the King has enjoined Mr. Pepys to let him know, in his name, that he would have him to decline it himself, and to assist Mr. Chancellor, who is likely to be so necessary to His Majesty this Parliament, that he cannot want his service in the House. As he has laid his commands himself upon Mr. Pepys in this manner, so His Majesty has ordered me to signify this his pleasure to you, and to let you know that his service is so much concerned in it, that he would have

[1] He was Chancellor of the Exchequer.
[2] Of Portsmouth.

you leave nothing undone that is in your power, for the obtaining that election for him.[1]

I am, Sir, your most humble servant, DANBY.

B.L. orig.] *Sir Leoline Jenkins to S. Pepys.*

February 24, 1671.

Sir—Nothing in the world could be more kind nor more generous than your letter of the 13th, by the yacht. The prospect that you and I had of embracing one another is now vanished; but no distance of time or place shall in the least diminish that faithfull cordiall respect I have for your person, and that very high esteem I have for your merits. If there was any honour or new employment designed for me, when I was so suddenly called home, I'll take leave to tell it in your bosome, that I bless God with all my soule that it is otherwise disposed of; for I have had enough of this world; God give me grace to prepare for another! 'Tis true I am now putt upon a new commission, which, God knows, is a grief to me, and should never be my choice, if it were in my power. However, His Royal Highness may render it as easy as 'tis, in the present circumstances, capable of being to an honest man, that cannot but be, at such a time as this, full of anguishes for his King and his Country. I beg your favor in delivering the enclosed to His Royal Highness: 'tis to petition him to that effect. I pray pardon me this boldnesse, and be pleased to believe that I am, with perfect truth, Sir,

Your most humble and most faithful servant,

L. JENKINS.

C.] *The Duke of York to S. Pepys.*

Hague, April 24, 1679.

The place that I came from afforded so little news, that it was not at all necessary for me to write to you, only to let you know I had received yours, in which you gave me an account of the loss of the Marigold prize at Tangier. I hope we shall now soon hear of the arrival of Sir J. Narborough; for then we shall have some more strength at home, though not so much as I think ought to be at sea, considering the ships they say the French are fitting out. This goes to you by my page, Mr. Hickman, who, I desire

[1] In spite of this interference, Sir John Kempthorne was returned

may go a volunteer in one of the convoys for Newfoundland; and if Captain Lloyd be one, that he may go with him; which is all I shall now say, but that you shall always find me the same to you. JAMES.

C.] *The Duke of York to S. Pepys.*

Hague, April 25, 1679.

I would not let this bearer, Captain Sanders, go, without writing to you by him, to let you know that I stopped him when he came to Antwerp, intending to have come hither in him; but, by the negligence of our pilot, we came on ground near Bergen-up-Zoom, so that I was forced to go on board the Dutch yatch; but did not stir from thence till we got him off. She is now at Helveotsluys; and, if this wind continue, will soon be at Greenwich. I do intend to go to-morrow to Amsterdam: my chief business is to see the ships and magazines there. I design to be back on Friday, and the next week to return to Brussels. I long to hear of Sir J. Narborough's being arrived with you, for one does not know what may happen as to France. I wish things may go, where you are, as they ought; and be assured you shall find me as kind to you as ever. JAMES.

C.] *S. Pepys to the Duke of York.*

Derby-House, May 6, 1679.

May it please your Royal Highness—I acknowledge, with all humility and thankfulness, the honour of your Highness's letters of the 24th and 25th of the last, and do, with equal shame and grief, observe how much your Highness's solicitude, even at this distance, for the security of this kingdom against the power of France, does exceed all that we ourselves have yet expressed upon that subject, otherwise than by a general but inactive restlessness under our apprehensions of the danger; but without any alteration made, since your Royal Highness's departure, in the state of our ships or coasts, other than what is consequential to their having lain so much longer neglected. Sir John Narborough's last letters were of the 7th and 17th of March, from Alicant, where, having newly met with his Majesty's orders for his coming home, after a short visit to Algiers, he therein told me he would accordingly proceed forthwith to Port Mahon, for the settling some matters in

that place, and from thence to Algiers; so as to be at Tangier, in his way homeward, about the 7th of April. Since which, though we have wanted advice from him wholly, yet, by a letter I have seen from a slave at Algiers, of the 1st of April, it appears that he came before that town the 25th, and departed the 29th of March, after having sent two of his captains ashore to treat of a peace, but without effect. This only is added by the slave, that, had Sir John Narborough staid one day more in the road, those of Algier had certainly made a peace with him, that Government having, it seems, afterwards expressed some trouble that it was not done; by which calculation of time we may now, from day to day, expect his being here.

I have remembered your Highness's command in reference to Captain Lloyd's being appointed one of the Newfoundland convoys, which His Majesty has been pleased to agree to, in company with Captain Talbot, in the Mary Rose, Captain Priestman, in the Antelope, and Captain Kempthorne, in the Dover, and will take care that Mr. Hickman be entertained as a volunteer with Captain Lloyd. How his Majesty has been pleased, among his other great changes, to dispose of the Admiralty, by a new Commission to these gentlemen, viz., Sir Henry Capel, Mr. Dan. Finch, Sir Tho. Ley, Sir Thomas Meres, Mr. Vaughan, Sir Hum. Winch, and Mr. Hales, of Kent, your Highness, I doubt not, has many days since known; nor shall I think it becoming me to interpose any thoughts of mine touching his Majesty's choice therein, more than for his, and his service's sake, I could wish his naval arrangements to be such as for a time might allow these worthy gentlemen opportunity of being informed in the work of their great office, before they be urged to much execution in it. And this I am the bolder in wishing, since they have taken upon themselves the performance of that branch of the Admiral's task which his Majesty was pleased, for the ease of his last Commissioners, to reserve the trouble of to himself, namely, the issuing all sailing instructions to his fleet and ships; his Majesty having, at the instance of these gentlemen, put that part also in their hands, together with the granting of all officers in the navy, in the same manner as it has at any time been exercised by the Lords Admirals of England.

For what concerns my own particular, your Highness was pleased to foretell me, at your going hence, what I was soon after to look for; and it is come to pass. For whether I will or no, a Papist I must be, because favoured

by your Royal Highness, and found endeavouring, on all fitting occasions, to express, in the best manner I can, the duty and gratitude due to your Highness from me. But how injuriously soever some would make those just endeavours of mine towards your Highness inconsistent with Protestancy, neither they, nor any ill usuage I can receive from them, shall, by the grace of God, make me any more quit the one, than I suspect your Royal Highness will ever take offence at my perseverance in the other. His Majesty is, indeed, pleased to express a much more favourable opinion of me, and my slender qualifications for his service, than I dare own my right to; and, as an instance thereof, has not spared to tell me how much weight he is pleased to place upon my experience in the Navy, for supplying, by my Secretaryship, what his present choice of Commissioners may possibly be found less perfect in: nor shall I think it becoming me to dispute the giving his Majesty my service on whatever terms he shall think fit to require it from me.

But, as your Royal Highness well knows how far I had, not long since, made it my humble motion, and pressed it upon your favour, that after almost twenty years' continued drudgery in the Navy, to the rendering myself almost blind, and otherwise disabled in health to support it much longer, His Majesty would be pleased to take the residue of my small service by admitting me into the Commission of the Admiralty: so truly, Sir, I have now, upon other considerations purely relative to his service, made the same motion to the King, upon occasion of this change. For if I was truly conscious of being become less able to bear the fatigue of my office any longer, under a Commission that had many members of it competently furnished for its execution, besides the easy and helpful recourse I had at all times had to his Majesty himself, and your Royal Highness, in matters needing it, and those, as old a Navyman as I am, not a few, how much less fit ought I to think myself to go through this task, when, not only stripped of all those helps, but, to say no worse, charged with a new piece of duty, and that not a little one, of informing those who should inform and are to command me; and I to remain accountable for all the ill success that should attend my obeying those commands, though probably differing from my own advice. Besides, however fairly some of these gentlemen seemed disposed towards my continuance in this Secretaryship, yet that compliance of theirs I well know to be grounded upon

some opinion they have of the necessaryness of my service to them till they have obtained a stock of knowledge of their own; and then farewell! But others there be, with whom your Royal Highness knows, (what converts soever they are now to be thought!) I have for many years lived in a constant state of war, they censuring, and I defending, the management of the navy; and with such success on the navy's side, as to have always met with too great an appearance of His Majesty's well accepting my humble endeavours therein, that, however our conjunction may now succeed in reference to His Majesty's service, I should not promise myself any satisfaction from them, especially upon terms so unequal, as my being brought down to be a servant to them, when the dignity of the trust I have so long had the honour of serving His Majesty in, might, I hope, be thought to have set me upon a level with them. Whereto I have humbly to add, what some have not spared publicly to let fly in opposition to my continuance in this office, namely, that so long as Mr. Pepys should be there, his Royal Highness remains in effect Admiral. In which, though they do me a much greater honour than either I deserve, or their malignity intends me, yet, Sir, I cannot but so far consider the importance of having all rubs removed, which may be either of impediment to the happy going on of this great part of the King's service, or give any unnecessary occasion of keeping alive the jealousies touching your Royal Highness, that if His Majesty may as well secure to himself the full use of my service, and your Royal Highness receive no less content from my being in the Commission than in my present post, which you were pleased, upon my former motion to that purpose, to express your well-liking of, I see no inconvenience, but to myself, likely to arise from His Majesty's giving them the satisfaction of his withdrawing me from this odious Secretaryship; I being for these reasons not only contented to submit to, but desire it, and shall be most ready to give my assistance in this Commission with the same faithfulness and industry, though not with the same private satisfaction, wherewith I ought, and should, were your Royal Highness at the head of it. Which having said, I make it my humble prayer to your Royal Highness to interpret with your usual justice my deliberation upon this subject, pardoning ought that shall happen not to find your full liking, as being designed most entirely for the benefit of His Majesty's service. But if it shall be

my better fortune to meet with your Royal Highness's approbation in what I have here humbly offered, I then make it my suit to your Royal Highness, that you will be pleased to consider how far it may be fit for your Royal Highness to enforce from yourself this my humble proposal to His Majesty, for my being transferred from the Secretaryship into the Commission; your Royal Highness well knowing, that, however bounteous you have always been to me in your frequent callings on me, to the improvement of your favours to my benefit with His Majesty, I have never to this day done it to the obtaining sixpence from the Crown by any boon extraordinary beyond the plain allowance of my office, and not that neither; yet by much more than all I have else reserved in the world to depend upon, as your Highness was pleased to be informed from me by particulars, and from you the king, just before your going. So as, while the sincerity of my wishes for the weal of his service prompts me to this voluntary divesting myself of my present employment, I should be in very ill condition to bear its not being made up to me by His Majesty granting, for his service's sake, as well as in justice to your Royal Highness's mediation, and his own promises in my favour, the latter part of my motion for his placing me in the Commission, or at least making some other provision for me as one superannuated in his service.

Wherein, nevertheless, submitting myself still to your Royal Highness's disposal, and beseeching Almighty God to put some timely bounds to your misfortunes, whatever becomes of mine, I, in all humility, remain,

May it please your Royal Highness,

Your Royal Highness's most obedient

and most dutiful Servant, S. P.

C.] *The Duke of York to S. Pepys.*

Bruxelles, May 23, 1679.

Yours, by Captain Sanders, I received yesterday morning, and look on what you propose as so reasonable, that I send you here enclosed a letter to His Majesty as you desired, and send it with a flying seal, that you may read it before you deliver it to see how you like it; and truly I hope His Majesty will do it; I am sure he ought, and it will do more good to reward one old servant than to

take off twenty mutineers. I have not time to say more, but that you shall always find me firm to you.

JAMES.

C.] *The Duke of York to the King.*

Bruxelles, May 22, 1679.

I hope your Majesty will pardon me for writing to you in behalf of an old servant of yours in the Navy, that has long and faithfully served you. It is Mr. Pepys, who now, upon this change in the Admiralty, is like to suffer, without your Majesty's favour; and truly, I think, should he be quite laid aside, I believe the service there would not be so well carried on, and those who are named to be Commissioners of the Admiralty, though in other affairs they are very able men, yet must needs be very raw in that, and will want one amongst them that understands it; therefore, what I have humbly to offer to your Majesty in Mr. Pepys's behalf is, that you will be pleased to add him to that Commission, and let him be one of their number. Sure none can find fault with your Majesty's doing it for him, when they consider his long service in the Navy, and that you do it for him as a recompence to him for all his services. And besides, I think it very necessary for your service always, and the easiest and less chargeable way of doing something for him that can be thought on; for give me leave to say, your Majesty is bound to do something for him that has spent so many years in your service to your satisfaction. Pray, Sir, pardon me for being earnest in this affair; I can never help being so where I think your honour concerned, and I wish all your subjects were as true Englishmen, and as dutiful and loyal as I am, and shall ever be. JAMES.

C.] *S. Pepys to the Duke of York.*

Tower, June 9, 1679.

May it please your Royal Highness—I should not have thought it in any wise becoming me to trouble your Royal Highness with the notice of any thing relating to the present difficulties I lie under, otherwise than as they serve for the necessary excuse of my no earlier owning the favour of your Royal Highness's, by Captain Sanders, which found me in the custody, under which I, with Sir

Anthony Deane, do now remain, upon no less suggestions than those of popery, felony, piracy, and treason, but so grounded as to render it hard for me to tell your Royal Highness which of the two enjoys the greater pleasure; whether Mr. Harbord[1] in public, from the contemplation of the conquest his malice has obtained over me, or I in private, from what my innocence tells me I shall, some time or other, if any justice may be hoped for, obtain against him. Hardships, however, I do and shall suffer contentedly; and the more in that I had the honour of having my duty to your Royal Highness assigned for the real cause of what my adversaries are pleased artificially to pretend, of Popery, and other like chimeras: for, begging your Royal Highness to believe that, as your Royal Highness shall never receive any dishonour from the favour you have been observed to incline towards me, so neither shall any of the hard usages which the malignity of some, or want of information in others, can subject me to, render me either less zealous in my duty and allegiance to my Royal Master, or less forward in the payment of that gratitude, which even that Protestancy of mine the world would be thought so doubtful of, exacts from me towards your Highness, and shall have it to the last point of my fortune and life. For what concerns your Royal Highness's particular goodness to me, in your late letter to His Majesty, the condition I am in puts it out of my power to apply it to my benefit; but not so as to make me any thing doubtful of the fruits of it in His Majesty's justice, so soon as the justice I am waiting for from lower hands shall put me into a capacity of asking it. Towards which, referring your Royal Highness in all humility to Sir John Werden for some particulars, wherein your present aid and direction may be of instant benefit to me under my present misfortune,

I pray God protect Your and Her Royal Highness, and am, &c.,

S. P.

B.L. orig.] *J. Maulyverer to S. Pepys.*

(Magdalene College, Cambridge) Nov. xxix, 1679.

Hon[rd] Sir—This is to return the humble thankes of our whole Society, and particularly myne owne, for the great

[1] William, second son of Sir Charles Harbord, whom he had succeeded as Surveyor-General.

favour and kindenes with which you have been pleas'd to oblige us. The money, indeed, was, by the bond, payable the last Michaelmas was twelve-moneths, so that you might justly have expected to have heard from us about it before this time. We do beg your pardon for this neglect, and shall allwayes acknowledge ourselves endebted to you for this and all your other charitable remembrances of Magdalene College. We hope to be able to pay you in a short time, and therfore desire to know when you will be pleas'd to call for it in. We had made a tender of it before this time, had not some of our benefactours been very slow in paying their subscriptions. We have not yet finished the inside, and I know not when we shall; however, we will rather let it stand unfinished than suffer our just debts to be unpay'd. Humble service from the Master and Fellows concludes this, from,

Sir, Yours, &c.,

JOH. MAULYVERER.

B.L. orig.] *Dr. Peachell*[1] *to S. Pepys.*

Magdalene College, Cambridge, Jan. 11th, 80-81.

Honour'd Sir—After I bid you good night in Cheapside, ye 13th day of 10ber, I staid in London a fortnight, but was so tender, and had so much adoe to preserve my health, that I was prevented in some measure in the pursuit of my businesse; and particularly in taking that decent and respectful leave of my friends which I thought was requisite, which makes me give you the trouble of this missive, on purpose to acknowledge my own and the Colledge's great obligations to you. I hope to have some good view of our concerne by next Easter Terme; and, if the Parliament give His Majesty money, I doubt not but our friends will be the more free to supply us.

[1] John Peachell, S. T. P., Vicar of Stanwick, and Prebendary of Carlisle, made Master of Magdalene Coll. 1679; from which office, as well as that of Vice-Chancellor, he was suspended by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, May 7, 1687, for disobeying the Royal Mandate. He was, however, restored by King James II.'s Letter, to the Headship, October 24, 1688, and died 1690. Lord Dartmouth, in a note to Burnet's History, mentions that Dr. Peachell starved himself to death: Archbishop Sancroft having rebuked him for setting an ill example in the University by drunkenness and other loose conduct, he did penance by four days' abstinence; after which he would have eaten, but could not. It may be worth notice, that Pepys, in the Diary, remarked upon the rubicundity of Peachell's nose, on which account he was ashamed to walk with him.

Although it be counted even Popery, yet I cannot but pray God to preserve us from the tumults, confusions, and rebellion of 1641 and 42, which seeme to threaten us on one hand, as much as Popery on the other. I feare God hath a controversy still with the land: but I will not preach, onely pray for your health and happinesse, and rest, S^r^, your much obliged Serv^t^,

J. PEACHELL.

B.L.] *S. Pepys to his cousin Roger Pepys.*

March 26th, 1681.

Honoured Cousin—This comes to kiss your hands, and my cousin your Lady's, with many thanks for her and your last favours at Impington: since which it hath pleased God, by a continued sickness of my Sister's, to prevent my coming to any determination touching my house at Brampton; for that my thoughts therein would be much governed by my having or not having her to reside there, for the better looking after my small affairs, as well as her own, about that place, my dependencies here being still such as will not, I doubt, for some time, give me leisure to retire thither myself; which, as public matters go, without any hopes in my view of their bettering, is the first thing I could wish to compass. But my Sister's illness being become such as our best physicians here, where she has for some months been, can give me no assurance of any speedy recovery, I find it inconvenient for me to delay any longer my taking some resolutions in that matter; and, therefore, remembering, though imperfectly, a motion you were pleased to make to me about this house, when I last waited on you, I thought it becoming me to advertise you so far of it, as may give me the satisfaction of knowing whether, in my proceeding herein, I can have any opportunity of serving you.

I remember, also, the little things you were pleased to bespeak of me—I mean, my model and two pictures: which, however I may happen to dispose of the house, I shall, with great pleasure, make good to you my promise of, by preferring them to a place with you at Impington, whenever a convenience shall offer itself for their conveyance thither. So, with my desires also of understanding how it fares with you in your health, and my cousin's,

I remain both her and your

Most affectionate Kinsman and humble Servant,

S. P.

B.L. orig.] *Cesare Morelli*[1] *to S. Pepys.*

The 11 April, 1681.

Honoured Sir—I did receive your last letter, dated the 9th of these month, with much grief, haveing an account of your painfull feaver: I pray God it will not vex your body too much; and if by chance it should vex you longer, there is here a man that can cure it with simpathetical power, if you please to send me down the pearinghs of the nailes of both your hands and your foots, and three locks of hair of the top of your crown. I hope, with the grace of God, it will cure you.

As for the compositions of them two masters, in my jugement, though weak, I like better Baptist's works than Pedro's, because Baptist work masterly, as you shall perceive betwixt their bases. All Baptist's bases are singable, where many of Pedro's are not so. Herewith my humble respects remaine,

Honoured Sir, your most faithfull Servt,

CESARE MORELLI.

C.] *The Duke of York to S. Pepys.*

Edinburgh, May 21, 1681.

By the last post, I had yours of the 14th, with the copy of the Address which was to be presented by the Trinity House, and never doubted but they would always do their parts as became loyal subjects: and I am sure it will not be your fault if all, where you have anything to do, do not what becomes them. As for what you propose, for the Commanders and Officers of the Fleet to present such an Address to His Majesty, I do not think it necessary, nor indeed proper, since there can be no doubt of their loyalty; and that it is not necessary or usual for people to doubt of such as have such immediate dependance, or are in pay; and I think what has been done by the Trinity House is sufficient for the seamen: I wish all the landmen would do their parts as well. I shall say no more to you now, but to assure you, you shall always find me ready to show you what kindness I can.

Pray send me a copy of the Relation of His Majesty's escape from Worcester; 'tis only for my own satisfaction, and I shall let no copies be taken of it.

JAMES.

[1] He appears to have been a music-master. Many of his compositions are preserved in the Pepysian Library.

B.L. orig.] *Duchess of Norfolk*[1] *to S. Pepys.*

Waybreg, July 15, 81.

Sir—I am encoreged to geve you thes trubell, and beg a favor of you, knoing the regard you ever had for my Lord Duke desest, and his oblegations to you; which is, that you well own, as for yourself, a parsell of Scottch plad of ten or a leven peses, or geve me leve to order them to be derected to you, that I may with less trubell com by them; becaus now, in my abcenc, I have letell entreist in town, which is the resen I entrett thes of you: but, if it be the lest enconvenanc to you, I also beg you frely ancer me so; and, when it coms in my way to serve you, notwithstanding, I shall to my power lett you se I redely wold obleg you to my uttmost power, as

Your Servant, NORFOLKE.

S[r] Mills Cooks sonn has promised me to geve thes to your hands.

C. orig.] *John Evelyn to S. Pepys.*

Sayes Court, December 6, 1681.

Sir—In consequence of your commands, &c., I have sent you already two large sea-charts, and now, with a third, I transmit the sheets I have long since blotted about the late Dutch war; for which I should yet make another apology, besides its preface, were it not that you well understand the prejudices I lay under at that time, by the inspection of my Lord Treasurer Clifford, who would not endure I should moderate my style when the difference with Holland was to be the subject, nor with much patience suffer that France should be suspected, though in justice to truth, evident as the day, I neither would nor could conceal what all the world must see; how subdolously they dealt, and made us their property all along. The interception of[2] letter to his master, p. 260, is abundantly pregnant of this, and ought to open our eyes, unless it be that we design to truckle under that power, and seek our ruin with industry. Sir, you will pardon this severe reflection, since I cannot think of it without emotion. Now, as to the compiler's province, it is not easily to be imagined the sea and ocean of papers, treaties, declarations, relations, letters, and other

[1] Jane, daughter of Robert Bickerton, second wife of Henry, sixth Duke of Norfolk, described in the Peerages as "a lady famed for her beauty and accomplishments," amongst which orthography, certainly, was not included.

[2] Illegible in the MS.

pieces that I have been obliged to wade through, read over, note, and digest, before I set pen to paper: I confess to you the fatigue was insufferable; and, for the more part, did rather oppress and confound me, than enlighten; so much trash there was to sift and lay by: and I was obliged to peruse all that came to hand; and a better judgment than mine had been requisite to elect and dispose the materials that were then apt for use. This, Sir, I dare pronounce you will find before you have prepared all your *materiam abstructam* for the noble and useful work you are meditating.[1] Nor did I desist here, but had likewise made provision for that which was to follow the Treaty of Breda; though I honestly restored every scrip that had been furnished me from the cabinets of the Secretaries, and other persons, which were originals; yet blame myself for returning those letters and pieces I received from my Lord Treasurer, because I think I might have retained them with better confidence than he to carry them away with him into Devonshire, *unde nulli retrorsum.* That I did not proceed with the rest is accountable to his successor,[2] who, cutting me short of some honest pretensions I had to his kindness more than ordinary, if you knew all, I cared not to oblige an ungrateful age, and perhaps the world is delivered from a fardle of impertinences. Clifford, his predecessor, was, abating his other imperfections, a generous man, friendly to me, and I verily believe of clean hands: I am sure I was obliged to him; the other had been so to me and mine. A haughty spirit is seldom accompanied with generosity; but that is all past. I know it has been wondered upon what pretence I should have sought to sit at the Navy Board; and I have been as much astonished why some Honoraries, who sat long there, were no more industrious or useful than haply I should have been, whilst, to commute for my ignorance of wear and tear, I might yet, perhaps, have been subservient to such a genius as Mr. Pepys; and, by his direction and converse, not altogether an unprofitable member. Something, you see, I should have been digging for my wages, and serving the master builders, though I were myself no architect. But let that go also.

Your most humble and faithful Servant,

J. EVELYN.

[1] The History of the English Navy.

[2] Thomas, Viscount Dunblaine, afterwards Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds.

B.L.] *S. Pepys to Sir Thomas Beckford,*[1] *Alderman of London.*

February 17, 1681–2.

Sir—You were lately pleased to tell me you would do me the favour to accommodate me with your scarlet gown, for Signior Vario, the King's painter, to make use of in the picture he is preparing for Christ's Hospital. I intreat you to send it me in its bag, by the bearer, and will be accountable to you for its speedy return without injury. I kiss your hands, and am, &c. S. P.

B.L.] *S. Pepys to William, Viscount Brouncker.*

Newmarket, March 13th, 1681–2.

My Lord—The King received the Duke at his coming with all expressions of kindness; and though the Duke was pleased to tell me last night that the King, whose commands should ever be his guide, had not yet declared any thing of his pleasure touching his stay here, and remove hence with him to London, yet I find every body concluding, and all things in appearance concurring, that he shall do both. So that I believe your Lordship will be eased of a journey hither, which truly would be found very troublesome to you, and your accommodation here very uneasy, the town being already very full, and hourly filling. Besides that, I have to tell you from the Duke, upon my delivering him the message you intrusted me with, that he is most sensible of your particular duty and good will to him, (they are his own words) and that he wants not, and therefore would by no means have you think of giving him so inconvenient a proof of it, as he apprehends your visiting him here might prove to you in your health; rather desiring you, for that reason, to respite it till he can meet you at White Hall. Mr. Pearce, however, I find mighty thoughtful and inquisitive after accommodations for your Lordship; but I doubt not but a day or two more will put you and us out of all fear of needing it: for I am already satisfied that the Duke will not return to Scotland without seeing London, nor then, I hope, but to fetch the Duchess; our Ministers being in all appearance very respectful and obsequious to him, and that squabble about the inn adjusted, my Lord Conway most readily rectifying the mistakes his servants had made, at his first coming, in that matter.

[1] See note, p. 64, *ante.*

I have not yet been at Mrs. Nelly's,[1] but I hear Mrs. Knight is better, and the King takes his repose there once or twice daily. Your brother Hales is all the Representative your Board yet has here, but more, I hear, are expected, and of the Navy a whole host.

I kiss your Lordship's hand, and my Lady Williams's, and am, My Lord, &c., S. P.

C. orig.] *John Evelyn to S. Pepys.*

April 28, 1682.

Sir—Considering how far your laudable zeal still extends to all things that any way concern the actions of this nation at sea, and that you despise not the least things that may possibly be of use, I make no scruple of sending you all my blotted fragments, which yet with no small pains you will find I had collected, in order to a further progress in the History of the Dutch War. I should be perfectly ashamed of the farrago, when I reflect upon the more precious materials you have amassed; but you know where Virgil found gold, and you will consider that these were only minutes and tumultuary hints relating to ampler pieces, infirm and unfit to be put into the building, but prepared to work on. It is not imaginable to those who have not tried, what labours an historian that would be exact is condemned to; he must read all, good and bad, and remove a world of rubbish before he can lay the foundation. So far I had gone, and it was well for me I went no farther, and better for the reader on many accounts, as I am sure you find by what I have already been so weak as to show you; and yet I cannot forbear. You will find, among the rest, in a little essay, how what I have written in English would show in Latin, ashamed as I was to see the history of that war published in that universal and learned language, and that in just and specious volumes, whilst we only told our tale to ourselves, and suffered the indignities of those who prepossessed the world to our prejudice; and you know how difficult a thing it is to play an aftergame, when men's minds are perverted and their judgments prepossessed. Our sloth and silence in this diffusive age, greedy of intelligence and public affairs, is a great fault, and I wonder our politicians that are at the helm take no more care of it, since we see what advantages reputation alone carries with it in Holland, Genoa, Venice, and even our

[1] Nell Gwynn.

East India Commission; whereas, all wise men know they are neither so rich, wise, or powerful, intrinsically, and that it is the credit and estimation the vulgar has of them which renders them considerable. It was on this account I chose the action at Bergen; not that I thought it to be the most glorious or discreet, for in truth I think much otherwise, but for that the exploit was entire, and because I had seen what the Dane had published in Latin much to our dishonour. How close I have kept to my text you will find by collation, and whether nervous and sound, none can better judge. That I did not proceed need not be told you. The peace was concluded; my patron resigned his staff: his successor was unkind and unjust to me. The Dutch Embassador complained of my Treatise of Commerce and Navigation, which was intended but for a prolusion, and published by His Ma^ty's encouragement before the peace was quite ratified, though not publicly till afterwards. In sum, I had no thanks for what I had done, and have been accounted since, I suppose, an useless fop, and fit only to plant coleworts, and I cannot bend to mean submissions; and this, Sir, is the history of the Historian. I confess to you, I had once the vanity to hope, had my patron continued in his station, for some, at least, honorary title that might have animated my progress, as seeing then some amongst them whose talents I did not envy: but it was not my fortune to succeed. If I were a young man, and had the vanity to believe any industry of mine might recommend me to the friendship and esteem of M^r Pepys, as I take him to be of a more enlarged and generous soul, so I should not doubt but he would promote this ambition of mine, and not think one that would labour for the honour of his country, in my way, unworthy some regard. This almost prompts me to say the same to him that Joseph did to Pharaoh's exauctorated butler, whose restoration to grace he predicted,—

"Tantum memento mei cum bene tibi fuerit."

And so farewell. Dear Sir,

Raptim. J. E.

B.L.] *S. Pepys to W. Hewer.*

Edinburgh, Monday, May 8, 1682.

Mr. Hewer—After having told you that the Duke is well, and then, myself, I may safely take notice to you

of what will, I know, soon become the talk of the town, and be very differently entertained by it; but be their constructions of it what the worst part of them please, our solace must be that the Duke is well arrived here, though with a greater loss in his train than we can yet make any just computation of, by reason of the Kitchin yacht not being yet come in; which, of all the yachts, had most opportunity of saving men, as lying nearest and longest about the wreck of the Gloucester, which struck upon the edge of the (Well, some say; Lemmon, say others,) about 5 in the morning, on Friday last, from an obstinate over-winning of the pilot, in opposition to all the contrary opinions of Sir J. Berry, his master, mates, Col. Legg, the Duke himself, and several others, concurring unanimously in our not being yet clear of the sands, and therefore advising for his standing longer out to sea. The pilot is one Ayres, a man that has heretofore served the Duke as pilot in the war, and in his voyage hither, and one greatly valued as such by him: but this, however, has fallen out, and will, as it ought, be strictly inquired into, the man being, as is said, saved, and could it be regularly done would be tried and hanged here, for the nearer satisfaction of those great families of this kingdom, who, it is feared, would be found the greatest sufferers in this calamity; and among others, my Lord Roxbrough, one of the flowers of this nobility, not yet heard of, nor Mr. Hyde, my Lord Hyde's brother, and lieutenant of the ship; though Sir J. Berry is, and is very well spoken of by His Royal Highness, for his comportment in this business, though unfortunate.

I told you, in a line by Mr. Froud, that though I had abundant invitation to have gone on board the Duke, I chose rather, for room's sake and accommodation, to keep my yacht, where I had nobody but Sir Christopher Musgrove and our servants with me; the Master of the Ordnance being obliged by his indispensable attendance on his Highness, to leave us.

Our fortune was, and the rest of the yachts, to be near the Gloucester when she struck; between which and her final sinking, there passed not, I believe, a full hour; the Duke and all about him being in bed, and, to show his security, the pilot himself, till waking by her knocks.

The Duke himself, by the single care of Col. Legg, was first sent off in a boat, with none but Mr. Churchill[1] in her, to prevent his being oppressed with men labouring

[1] Afterwards Duke of Marlborough.

their escapes: some two or three, however, did fling themselves after him into her, and my Lord President[1] of Scotland, by the Duke's advice, endeavoured it, but, falling short, was taken up out of the water by him.

Mr. Legg (then) looking after his own safety, got into a boat, and was received on board us with Capt. Macdonnell, Mr. Fortry, one of the Duke's bedchamber, and some poor men unknown: we had also the good-fortune to take up Sir Charles Scarborough, almost dead, and others spent with struggling in the water and cold; but were prevented in our doing so much good as we would, by our own boat's being easily sunk by our side, and her men with much difficulty saved.

Had this fallen out but two hours sooner in the morning, or the yachts at the usual distance they had all the time before been, the Duke himself and every soul had perished; nor ought I to be less sensible of God's immediate mercy to myself, in directing me, contrary to my purpose at my first coming out, and the Duke's kind welcome to me when on board him in the River, to keep to the yacht; for many will, I doubt, be found lost, as well or better qualified for saving themselves, by swimming and otherwise, than I might have been.

Capt. Wyborne, in the Happy Return, was the only frigate near us, and she, indeed, in no less danger than the Gloucester; but, taking quick notice of the other's mishaps, dropped presently her anchor, and is this morning, with the Kitchin yacht, come safe in harbour; and by her we now know that very many are lost; I judge about 200 men: but particulars are not yet fully known, only my Lord Roxbrough and Lord Hopton are certainly gone, and our young English Lord O'Brian.

The haste the express is going away in will not allow me to write to my Lord Brouncker now; but pray give him my most humble services, and communicate this to his Lordship, and the like to Crutched Friars, Winchester Street, and Portugal Row, as soon as you conveniently can, to remove any causeless care concerning me, giving my Lord Brouncker a hint, and my thinking it very expedient in itself and regardful in him towards the Duke, that some inquiry be made into the care the Navy Office will be found to have used in providing for his safety and ship, with respect to the appointment of good and a sufficient number of pilots on this occasion; for I hear something muttered here about it, and it will not, I doubt,

[1] James, Marquis of Montrose.

be judged enough for them to leave it to the Duke to take whom he pleased, or might possibly be otherwise advised to, without interposing some immediate care of their own in it, as I am sure was heretofore done in my time, upon his going to sea. I do privately think it will be very well received by His Highness, to hear of his Lordship's interesting himself of his own accord in this inquiry.

The Duchesse is very well, and, saving the abatement given her in it by this disaster, under much joy from the Duke's kindness, and the errand he comes upon of fetching her home.

So, with my service to Clapham and every where else, I wish your family and self continuance of health, and am ever, &c. &c. S. P.

B.L. orig.] *W. Hewer to S. Pepys.*

Yorke Buildings, 13 May, 1682.

Hon[d] Sir—The welcomest newes I ever received in my life, was what you were pleased to honour me with, by yours of the 8th inst. from Edinburgh, after the late misfortune to the Gloucester, concerning which we had some imperfect account on Wednesday morning, about 11 of the clock; it comeing from my Lord Conway, at Windsor, to Sir Leoline Jenkins's office, at Whitehall, where I was then waiting at the Treasury Chambers, and was not a little surprized at the reporte, which in less than an houres time ran through the whole citty, and was variously discoursed of as people were affected and inclined: some would have it that the Duke and all were lost—others, that all were saved, and the shipp only lost; but all generally concluded it to be a very unfortunate and unkinde disaster: but the thoughts of the Duke's safety, and our friends, does very much ease our mindes, and gives us great satisfaction.

You cannot imagine in what consternation all your friends in generall were, upon the reporte of your being cast away, but more especially those at Crutched Fryars, Winchester Street, and Portugal Rowe, to whom I communicated your letter, which was matter of noe small joy and satisfaction to them: they all joyne with me in returning God Almighty thanks for his great mercy in directing you in your passage as he did.

My Lord Brouncker, to whome I communicated your letter and command, was not a little glad to heare of your

safety, returning you very kinde thanks for your hints, which he will make use of.

The commission omitted to be given Sir John Berry, for holding a court martiall at his going out, is sent last night express, as I am inform'd.

They have been so disordered in Winchester Street, that I am commanded to tell you they shall not be themselves till they see you, and the enclosed from Portugal Row will let you know how they doe; all your friends in generall giving you their very humble service, and heartily wish your safe returne.

One accident has happen'd here the last week, near in towne, to be lamented, viz^t., *our friend* Colon^ll Scott's[1] being fledd for killing a coachman, the Coroner having found it wilful murther: meanes are using to buy off the widow, who has three small children; but we are considering what to doe to prevent it, Sir A. Deane being come to towne.

The Officers of the Navy were directed by the Admiralty to goe downe this day to Chatham, to make some further enquiries concerning the business of the wett dock, that matter not being yet adjusted; my Lord Finch having been very severe on S^r Ph. Pett, who beares up and thinks nothing has been yet sayd to the prejudice of the reasons he gave against it.

Sir John Banks took very kindly my waiting on him with the account you gave, he having not met with any that was soe particular; and being to dine with my Lord Chancellor to-day, where M^r Seymoure was to be, he did very much press me to give an extract of your letter relateing to the loss of the Gloucester, and the circumstances thereof, which I did doe, leaving out all that related to yourselfe, and the hints to my Lord Brouncker.

Pray present my very humble service to M^r Legg, whose great prudence and regard towards the Duke's safety is very much spoken of, to his great honour, by all that wish well to the Duke. I shall not offer att the giving you any further trouble at present, hopeing my letter under cover to my Lady Peterborow met you at Edinburgh, but with all due respects and service remaine

Your ever faithfull and most obedient Servant,

WM. HEWER.

[1] He had accused Pepys of popery and treason.

B.L.] *S. Pepys to W. Hewer.*

Newcastle, Friday, May 26th, 82.

Mr Hewer—Having, by a former letter from Berwick, owned and thanked for yours by my Lady Peterborough, this comes to do the like for another of the 13th instant, which I met at my arrival here, three days since, and was most welcome to me, as bringing me both the satisfaction of understanding your healths, and the kind resentments you had upon the notice of mine: for which, after what is first due to God Almighty, I give all our friends, and particularly yourself, my most affectionate thanks.

Since my coming hither, Mr. Legg and I have made a step to Durham, where the Bishop[1] seems to live more like a prince of this, than a preacher of the other world, and shall, to-day, set out for Scarborough, where, if I find none from you, pray let me meet a line or two at Hull, which is the last port we are to touch at in our way home; where I hope we shall, in ten days, have a safe meeting.

I am infinitely bound to my friends in Portugal Row and Winchester Street, for their thoughts of me, and the favour of their letters, which I will acknowledge to them myself from Scarborough, where we shall, God permitting it, be to-morrow. Sir Ralph Delavall just now coming in, and forcing us away to a seat of his,[2] some few miles from this place, where he will have us eat with him before we sail, interrupting me in my letter to them this post; pray them, therefore, in the mean time, to stay their kind stomachs, that I thank them, love them, long to see them, and having thus escaped [*illegible*] will not now despair of living to serve them.

And this leads me to the tidings you give me of *our friend* Scott, whom God is pleased to take out of our hands into his own for justice; for should he prevail with the widow for her forgiveness, which yet, in some respects, I could wish might be prevented, there is the King's pardon behind, which I suppose he will not easily compass, unless by some confessions, which I am confident he is able to make, relating to the State as well as us, that might enough atone for this his last villainy; nor do I doubt, but to save his own life, he will forget his trade and tell truth, though to the hazard of the best friends he has;

[1] Nathaniel, Lord Crewe.

[2] Seaton-Delaval, in Northumberland, which has descended to Jacob Astley, Lord Hastings.

which pray let Sir Anto. Deane think of, and of putting in a caveat against his getting any pardon from Court, if he should attempt it, till we are first heard, which, upon advising, I believe he and you will find the thing regular enough for us to do.

We daily long to hear of the Duke's arrival in the River.

Mr. Legg gives you his service, which pray distribute from me also among all our friends, and to yourself my most serious wishes of health and all that is good.

Adieu! S. P.

B.L. orig.] *Sir Clowdesley Shovel to Sir Martin Wescomb.*[1]

(Transmitted to Mr. Pepys.)

June the 22, 1683, from aboard the James Galley, att 11 o'clocke at night.

Sir—Yours I have rec[d], and give your honour thanks for your advice and councell. Sir, my orders call me from this place a Sunday next, therefor I think to saile to-morrow for the Bay of Bulls, if the weather permite; and on Sunday I shall proceed according to my orders, which I shall ever be carefull in keeping, especially my Royal orders, which positively command me to salute neither garison nor flagg of any forrainer, except I am certine to receave gunne for gunne. Pray, Sir, doe me the favour to gett my two trumpetors: their names are Walter Ashley and William Quinte, the former about 21 yeares old, the latter about 17: they are aboard the Starr, one of the Armada shipps that was built in Holland. Not else to trouble your honour at present, I remaine,

Honoured Sir, &c., CLOW. SHOVELL.[2]

B.L, orig.] *Ursula Pepys*[3] *to S. Pepys.*

September 13, [1683.]

Sir—The civilitys I have receivd from you gives mee a beleife that itt will not be disagreeable to you to lett you

[1] Consul at Cadiz: created a baronet March 19, 1669.

[2] The celebrated Admiral, lost in October, 1705, off the Scilly Isles.

[3] Ursula, daughter of Bryan Stapylton, and wife of Thomas Pepys, of Merton Abbey, Surrey, Master of the Jewel Office to Charles II. Their only child, Olivia, had just married Edward, eldest son of Sir Edward Smith, of Edmundthorpe, in Leicestershire, the place mentioned in the letter.

know wee are well settled at Edmondthorp, in a very prety seat, and good old house; and, which is best of all, with a fine gentleman, who is a kind good husband. Wee should all think our selvs very hapy to see you here; and I hope, if any occasion draw you this way, you will be so kind as to rest your selfe here awhile; and I am sure my daughter and her husband would make you a very hearty wellcome. I beg your pardon for the troble I gave you last, and entreat you to beleive I have a respect and esteem of your meritt, which accompanys me in all places whear dwells, sir, &c.,

UR. PEPYS.

B.L. orig.] *Lord Dartmouth to S. Pepys.*

Tangier, January 11th, 1683–4.

Deare Sir—You will easily imagine the condition we have beene in here, by the ill weather you have beene witness of where you have beene; but yet, God be thanked! we have strugled in it so farr, that the Mole is totally destroyed; neye, much more then you will immagine, till you see it, which, I hope, will be as soone as conveniently you can; for, when the Alcade and I come to treate of slaves, I shall want both your advice and assistance, for which I must ever acknowledge myselfe already sufficiently indebted, and Mr. Hewer for paying and accounting the mony. Pray, make no scruple of taking any man of warr, that is, of his Majesties fleete, to bringe you hither when you thinke fitt to command her; and I send you enclosed an order, that you may please to put in the Commander's name when you can come to me; for nothing they can pretend, if the ship be in condicon, can be of more service to His Majesty than bringing you hither, whose judgment and kindness I have an entire confidence in, being, from my heart,

Your most obliged and faithfull friend,
And humble Servant, DARTMOUTH.

As Atkins has drawne the order, no Commander's name need now be added, so that you may apply it to whom and when you please.

But remember Harry Williams is my old friend, and, since he is in hopes of making his fortune, I would not injure him.

B.L. orig.] *Abraham Tilghman to S. Pepys.*

Deptford, Feb^{y} 9th, 86, 4 o'clock.

Hono^{ble} Sir—Whilst Comiss^{r} S^{t} Michell[1] is drowned in tears, and his spirit sinking under the sence of so heavy a loss, I am by him commanded to acquaint your Honour that this afternoone, about one, his lady fell in travell, and was, about two, delivered of a son; but the birth of the child became the death of the mother; for within a quarter of an houre after her soul expired, and hath left a husband and numerous family bleeding under, I think, the saddest accents of sorrow I ever saw.

I most humbly beg leave to subscribe, hon^{ble} sir,

Your Honours most obedient and

Most humble Servant, ABRA. TILGHMAN.

B.L. orig.] *Sir Sam. Morland to S. Pepys.*

Saturday, 19 February, 1686-7.

Sir—I went, about 3 or 4 days since, to see what the Commissioners of the Navy had done upon the order you sent them relating to the new gun carriages, &c., but mett none but S^{r} Jo. Narborough, who told me your order expres't a tryal of shooting to be made like that at Portsmouth, which was impracticable at Deptford; because shooting with powder only was no tryall, and shooting with bullets too dangerous. And, therefore, his opinion, which he did believe would be the opinion of the whole Board, was, that to each new carriage should be the addition of a windlass, and also the false truck at the end of the carriages; and that all other things, as eyebolts, tackles, &c., should be left as they are in the old carriages, till such time as a full tryall be made of the new way, both at sea and in a fight; and then what shall prove to be useless in the old way, may bee wholly left off, and layd aside.

I would have wayted on you with this account myself, but I presume you have, ere this time, heard what an unfortunate and fatall accident has lately befallen me, of which I shall give you an abbreviat.

About three weeks or a month since, being in very great perplexities, and almost distracted for want of moneys, my private creditors tormenting me from morning to night, and some of them threatning me with a prison, and having no positive answer from His Majesty

[1] Mrs. Pepys's brother.

about the £1300, which the late Lord Treasurer cutt off from my pension so severely, which left a debt upon mee which I was utterly unable to pay, there came a certain person to me, whom I had relieved in a starving condition, and for whom I had done a thousand kindnesses; who pretended in gratitude to help me to a wife who was a very vertuous, pious, and sweet diposition'd lady, and an heiress who had £500 per ann. in land of inheritance, and £4000 in ready money, with the interest since nine years, besides a mortgage upon £300 p^r an. more, with plate, jewels, &c. The devil himself could not contrive more probable circumstances than were layd before me; and when I had often a mind to inquire into the truth, I had no power, believing, for certain reasons, that there were some charms or witchcraft used upon me; and, withall, believing it utterly impossible that a person so obliged should ever be guilty of so black a deed as to betray me in so barbarous a manner. Besides that, I really believ'd it a blessing from Heaven for my charity to that person; and I was, about a fortnight since, led as a fool to the stocks, and married a coachmans daughter not worth a shilling, and one who, about 9 months since, was brought to bed of a bastard; and thus I am both absolutely ruined in my fortune and reputation, and must become a derision to all the world.

My case is, at present, in the Spiritual Court, and I presume that one word from His Majesty to his Proctor, and Advocate, and Judge, would procure me speedy justice; if either our old acquaintance or Christian pity move you, I beg you to put in a kind word for me, and to deliver the enclosed into the King's own hands, with all convenient speed; for a criminal bound and going to execution is not in greater agonies, than has been my poor, active soul since this befell me: and I earnestly beg you to leave in 3 lines for me with your own porter, what answer the King gives you, and my man shall call for it. A flood of tears blind my eyes, and I can write no more, but that I am

Your most humble but poor distressed Serv^t,

S. MORLAND.

B.L. orig.] *D^r. Peachell to S. Pepys.*

Magdalene College, Cambridge, February 23, 86-7.

Honourd Sir—I am to returne you manifold thankes for many favours, particularly for the warrant for the Doe,

though our audit was put off: and for crediting us with the education of your nephew, who came to continue last Tuesday, and I shall be very mindfull of his health, behaviour, and improvement, while God continueth him and me together.

I must not conceale from such a friend as you what, before this, comes to you will be known in Court and City. His Majesty was pleased to send a letter directed to me, as Vice-Chancellor, to admit one Alban Francis, a Benedictine Monk, Master of Arts, without administering any oath or oaths to him. Now, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy being required by the statutes of Eliz. and Jac. 1^mi^, I could not tell what to do—decline his Majesties letter, or his lawes: I could but pray to God to direct, sanctifie, and governe me in the wayes of his lawes; that so, through his most mighty protection, both here and ever, I may be preserved in body and soul: then, by our Chancellour, I endeavoured to obteine His Majesties release, which could not be obteined. I thought it unmannerly to importune his Sacred Majesty, and was afraid to straine friends against the graine; and so could only betake myselfe to my owne conscience, and the advice of loyall and prudent men, my friends; and, after all, I was perswaded that my oath as Vice-Chancellor, founded on the statutes, was against it, and I should best exercise a conscience void of offence towards God and man, by deprecating his Majesties displeasure, and casting myselfe upon his princely clemency.

Worthy Sir, tis extraordinary distresse and affliction to me, after so much indeavour and affection to his Royall person, crown, and succession, I should at last, by the providence of God, in this my station, be thus exposed to his displeasure; but I must commit myselfe to the great God and my dread Soveraigne, the law and my friends, none of which I would have hurt for my sake, but desire all favour and helpe they think me capable of without hurting themselves; for if I do ill, tis not out of malice, but feare of the last judgment, and at the worst through involuntary mistake. Sir, I am sorry I have occasion to give you this information and trouble; but you will pardon, I hope, if you cannot helpe, Sir,

Your most devoted Servant, what ever befall,

J. PEACHELL.

The business was transacted yesterday, and I presently gave account to the E. of Sunderland and D. of Albemarle,

imploring their candid representation to the King's Majesty, whom God save.

B.L. orig.] *Lord Chancellor Jeffreys to S. Pepys.*

Bulstrode, July y^e^ 7^th^, 1687.

My most Hon^rd^ Friend—The bearer, Capt. Wren, came to mee this evening, with a strong fancy that a recommendation of myne might at least entitle him to your favourable reception; his civillities to my brother, and his relation to honest Will Wren, and you know who else, emboldens mee to offer my request on his behalfe. I hope he has served our M^r^ well, and is capable of being an object of the King's favour in his request: however, I am sure I shall be excused for this impertinency, because I will gladly, in my way, embrace all opportunities wherein I may manifest myselfe to be what I here assure you I am, Sir,

Your most entirely affectionate
Friend and Servant, JEFFREYS, C.

B.L. orig.] *Josiah Burchett to S. Pepys.*

Satturday Noon, August 13, 1687.

Hon^ble^ Sir—Did not my utmost necessity force me to it, I could never have taken the liberty of troubling you with this second letter, knowing how unwelcome any thing must be to you that comes from one to whom you have been pleased to express so great an aversion. 'Tis a severe penance I undergo, in being thrown so suddenly out of a family I have soe long earned my bread in, into a wide world, whereto, God knows, I am so great a stranger, that I know not how or where to bestow myself, being constrained, through want of money, to procure me house-roome, to ramble in those parts where I think I may least expose myselfe to the sight of my friends, which is now grown æqually cruel to that of my enemys.

I should be heartily glad could I but meet with never soe small employment, whereby I might be able to coope myselfe up; but I am wholly a stranger where to seek it.

I most humbly crave pardon for what I have done amiss, and pray God that you suffer no more wrong from them that have thus exasperated you against me than I have really done you; and, since it is impossible for me to regaine

what I have lost, lett me beg some little thing or other to do, to keep me from idlenesse, 'till God shall please otherwise to dispose of me. I know that this is an unreasonable request, but, for God's sake, consider that necessity will catch at any thing, wherein there is the least show of hope. I heartily beg pardon, also, for this trouble, and remaine,

Hon^ble Sir, your Honours most obed^t Servant,

J. BURCHETT.

B.L. orig.] *H. Slingsby to S. Pepys.*

Accompanying a List of modern English Medals by him offered to sale.

11^th October, 1687.

Sir—You being my ancient friend and good acquaintance, I cannot doe lesse than offer to putt into your hands a generall collection of all the medalls made by Roettiers, of which I had an opportunity to chuse the best struck off; and I am sure soe full a collection noe man in England has besides myselfe, which you shall have at the same rate I paid for. When Roettier happens to die, they may be worth five or ten pounds more, and yett are not to be had, many of the stampes being broke and spoiled. I have sent you the list to peruse, which, if you approve of, I shall much rejoyce at; if not, pray returne the list againe, for I have severall friends will be glad to have them of,

S^r, yours, &c., H. SLINGESBY.

If you desire any of the King and Queen's coronation medalls, I have 6 of them that I can spare at 6^s. each.

A LIST OF MONSIEUR ROETTIER'S MEDALLS, WITH CASES.

	li.	*s.*	*d.*
1. The great Brittania, w^th Felicitas Brittaniæ	4	10	0
2. The Duke of Yorke's, with Nec minor in Terris	3	14	0
3. The late King's for the Hospitall, with Institutor Augustus	3	2	0
4. The Compte de Montrée, with Belgiæ et Burgundiæ Gubernator	3	2	0
5. The New Brittannia, with Nullum numen abest	2	3	0
6. The Duke of Yorke, with Genus antiquum	2	3	0
7. The Duke of Lauderdale, with Concilio et Animis	2	0	0
8. The King, for the Fyre Ships, with pro talibus ausis	1	19	0
9. The King, with Religionis Reformatæ Protectori	1	17	0
10. Collo^ll Strangways, with Decusque adversa dederunt	1	17	0
11. The B^pp of Canterbury, with Sancti Caroli Præcursor	1	15	0
12. Another of the same	1	15	0
13. The King, for Bruges, with Redeant Commercia Flandris	1	9	0
14. The First Brittania, with Favente Deo	1	9	0

		li.	s.	d.
15.	The King, for the Fyre Shipps, with pro talibus ausis .	1	8	0
16.	The King's New Invention for Fortifications . .	1	7	0
17.	The King, with his Armes	1	4	0
18.	The King on one side and the Queen on the other .	0	18	0
19.	The King of Spaine, with Flandriæ Osstendæ . .	0	18	0
20.	The Queen Dowager and S[t] Katherine, with Pietate insignis	0	18	0
21.	Another of the same	0	18	0
22.	The King of Sweeden's Inauguration, 29 May, 1671 .	0	18	0
23.	The King and Queen together, with Diffusus in Orbe Britannus	0	16	0
24.	The little one, the King on one side and the Queen on the other	0	10	0
25.	S[r] Samuel Morland's	0	10	0
	Total . . .	43	0	0

B.L. orig.] *Dr. Peachell to S. Pepys.*

December 19, 1687.

Hon[d] Sir—I return you my hearty thanks for your countenance when last with you. I found those few friends I thought fit to consult, of your opinion in my case, since my return here, and have occasion given to expect a deprivation in a little time, which may probably be pushed on, by those who have a mind to be in my room. I am a little afraid, too, my patron, the Earl of Suffolk,[1] may be content to have me removed, if he may be secure of nominating a successor. Sir, if you may, without notice of yourself or me, discover any such matters to acquaint me with, you will more and more oblige,

Sir, y[r] very faithful Serv[t], J. PEACHELL.

B.L. orig.] *Sir S. Morland to S. Pepys.*

17 May, 1688.

Sir—Being of late unable to go abroad, by reason of my lame hip, which gives me great pain, besides that it would not be safe for me at present, because of that strumpet's debts, I take the boldness to entreat you that, according to your wonted favours, of the same kind, you will be pleased, at the next opportunity, to give the King this following account.

[1] The right of nominating to the Mastership of Magdalene College, Cambridge, was vested for ever, by the founder, Lord Chancellor Audley, in the possessors of Audley End, which at that time belonged to James, third Earl of Suffolk.

A little before Christmas last, being informed that she was willing, for a sum of money, to confess in open Court a precontract with M^r^ Cheek, and being, at the same time, assured both by hir, and my own lawyers, that such a confession would be sufficient for a sentence of nullity, I did deposit the money, and accordingly a day of tryall was appoynted; but, after the cause had been pleaded, I was privately assured that the Judge was not at all satisfyed with such a confession of hers, as to be a sufficient ground for him to null the marriage, and so that design came to nothing.

Then I was advised to treat with her, and give her a present sum and a future maintenance, she giving me sufficient security never to trouble mee more; but her demands were so high, I could not consent to them.

After this, she having sent me a very submissive letter by her own advocate, I was advised, both by several private friends and some eminent divines, to take her home, and a day of treaty was appointed for an accommodation.

In the interim, a certain gentleman came on purpose, to my house, to assure me that I was taking a snake into my bosome, forasmuch as she had for six months last past, to his certain knowledge, been kept by, and cohabited with Sir Gilb. Gerrard as his wife, &c. Upon which making further enquiry, that gentleman furnishing me with some witnesses, and I having found out others, I am this Term endeavouring to prove adultery against her, and so to obteyn a divorce, which is the present condition of Your most humble and faithful Servant,

S. MORLAND.

B.L. orig.] *R. Scott, the Bookseller, to S. Pepys.*

June 30^th^, 1688.

Sir—Having at length procured Campion, Hanmer, and Spencer's Hist. of Ireland, fol., which, I think, you formerly desired, I here send itt you, with 2 very scarce bookes besides, viz. Pricæi Defensio Hist. Britt. 4°, and old Harding's Chronicle, as alsoe the Old Ship of Fooles, in old verse, by Alex. Berkley, priest; which last, though nott scarce, yett soe very fayre and perfect, that seldome comes such another: the Pricæus you will find deare, yett I never sold it under 10^s^, and att this tyme can have it of a person of quality; butt, without flattery, I love to find a

rare book for you, and hope shortly to procure for you a perfect Hall's Chronicle. I am, Sir,

Your Servant to command, ROBERT SCOTT.

Campion, Hanmer, and Spencer, fol. . .	0 : 12 : 0
Harding's Chronicle, 4°	0 : 6 : 0
Pricæi Defens. Hist. Brit.	0 : 8 : 0
Shipp of Fooles, fol.	0 : 8 : 0
	1 : 14 : 0

B.L. orig.] *Sir Samuel Morland to S. Pepys.*

19 July, 1688.

Sir—I once more begg you to give yourself the trouble of acquainting His Majesty that, upon Munday last, after many hott disputes between the Doctors of the Civil Law, the sentence of divorce was solemnly pronounced in open Court against that strumpet, for living in adultery with Sir Gilbert Gerrard for six months last past; so that now, unless shee appeal, for which the law allows her 15 days, I am freed from her for life, and all that I have to do for the future, will bee to gett clear of her debts which she has contracted from the day of marriage to the time of sentence, which is like to give mee no small trouble, besides the charge, for severall months in the Chancery. And till I gett cleared of these debts, I shall bee little better than a prisoner in my own house. Sir, believing it my duty to give His Majesty this account of myselfe, and of my proceedings, and having no other friend to do it for mee, I hope you will forgive the trouble thus given you by

Yours, &c., S. MORLAND.

B.L.] *Lord Sunderland to Sir Robert Holmes.*

(Transmitted to S. Pepys.)

Windsor, September 15th, 1688.

Sir—The King commands me to acquaint you that he approves very well of Mr. William Hewer and Mr. Edward Roberts, for members to serve in Parliament for the borough of Yarmouth, and of yourself and Mr. ——— Nebbervill, for Newport; and of Mr. William Blathwayte and Mr. Thomas Done, for Newton; and accordingly His Majesty recommends it to you, to give them your assistance, and use your interest, that they may be chosen accordingly. I am, &c.

Copia vera. SUNDERLAND, P.[1]

[1] President of the Council.

B.L. orig.] *The King to S. Pepys.*[1]

November 30, 1688.

Order the Isabella and Anne yachts to fall down to Erith to-morrow. J. R.

B.L.] *The King to Lord Dartmouth.*

Whitehall, December 10th, 1688.

Things haveing soe very bad an aspect, I could noe longer defer secureing the Queen and my son, which I hope I have done, and that by to-morrow by noone they will be out of the reach of my enemies. I am at ease now I have sent them away. I have not heard this day, as I expected, from my Commissioners with the Prince of Orange, who, I believe, will hardly be prevailed with to stop his march; soe that I am in noe good condition, nay, in as bad a one as is possible. I am sending the Duke of Berwick down to Portsm°, by which you will know my resolution concerning the fleet under your command, and what resolutions I have taken; till when, I would not have you stirr from the place where you are, for severall reasons.

JAMES R.

B.L. orig.] *John Evelyn to S. Pepys.*

[*Endorsed*] "Upon the great convulsion of State upon the King's withdrawing.

Sayes Court, 12 December, 88.

Sir—I left you indispos'd and send on purpose to learne how it is with you, and to know if, in any sort, I may serve you in this prodigious Revolution. You have many friends, but no man living who is more sincerely your servant, or that has a greater value for you. We are here as yet, I thank God, unmolested; but this shaking menaces every corner, and the most philosophic breast cannot but be sensible of the motion. I am assur'd you neede no precepts, nor I example, so long as I have yours before me, and I would governe myselfe by your commands to, Sir, Your most humble,

faithfull Servant, J. EVELYN.

[1] The yachts were evidently prepared for the escape of the Royal Family to France, but neither of them were used for that purpose.

B.L. orig.] *W. Hewer to S. Pepys.*

[*Endorsed in Pepys's hand*]—"A letter of great tendernesse, at a time of difficulty."

Wensday Night, Decembr 19, 1688.

Honoured Sir—I humbly thanke you for yours of this afternoon, which gives me greate satisfaction, and hope this afternoon or evening's audience will prove to your satisfaction, which I doe heartily wish and pray for; if not, I know you will chearefully acquiesce in what ever circumstance God Almighty shall think most proper for you, which, I hope, may prove more to your satisfaction than you can imagine. You may rest assured that I am wholly your's, and that you shall never want the utmost of my constant, faithfull, and personall service; the utmost I can doe being inconsiderable to what your kindness and favour to me has and does oblige me to: and, therefore, as all I have, proceeded from you, soe all I have and am, is and shall be, at your service.

I have noe reason to complaine as yet of any hardship; but to-morrow I shall know the utmost, and then I shall waite on you: remaineing in the meane time,

Your ever faithfull and obedient Servant,

Wm. Hewer.

B.L. orig.] *An Account of the Election at Harwich.*

January, 16, 1688-9.

The candidates, Sir Thomas Middleton, a very worthy gentleman, agreed upon by all parties, and one Mr John Eldred; the Towne Clerck declaring that Sam. Pepys, Esq., should not be enter'd, except some appear'd personally for him, which being done immediately, he was at last set down.

The Common Councel were so hot for the other, that, without hearing any reasons, nothing would serve but a present election. But, before they voted, the Mayor and several of the Aldermen arguing strongly that many of them could not be electors; some not being qualified according to law, others being open Dissenters from the Church, amongst whom one a kind of Quaker, four lately taken in the room of four who were absent, and turn'd out without any warrant; it was learnedly answer'd that, by the King's late proclamation, they were put *in statu quo* in 1679; to which reply being made, that the King's proclamation did really restore them who were then

electors, but did not give them power to chose any new members, especially their Charter not being restored, which was their warrant to act by, they not knowing so much as where the said Charter is, all was over-ruld by noise and tumult. They took the paper where they were, to write down their votes, and carried it out of the Court; upon which the Mayor presently adjourning, two of the Aldermen went out, which made the others return into Court, and there give their votes: presently after, the following protestation was put into M^r^ Mayor's hand:—

M^r^ Mayor—"We humbly conceive that the present choice of M^r^ Eldred to serve in the Convention is illegal, as to that part of it wherein the new electors are concerned; it being visible, that so long as we have no Charter to chose them by, they are unwarrantably chosen. For, tho' his Majesties proclamation restores us again to the same state we were in, in 79, and does qualifie them who were then actually chosen, it does not appear to us, how, without the Charter being *actually* restor'd to us, which it is not at this present, the then electors can chose any new ones; so that their very choice is deficient in itself; and accordingly, we humbly solicit Sam. Pepys, Esq., to be return'd with Sir Thom. Middleton, K^t^; protesting against the choice of the said M^r^ Eldred, and desiring withal that this our said protestation may be enter'd, and return'd to the Convention, to be there examin'd with our further allegations against the said election."

M^r^ Smith, the Town Clerk, took the said paper angrily; threaten'd a school-master, whom he thought had copied it out, to imprison him; said it was a libel, flung it out of the Court, and proclaim'd the said M^r^ Eldred duly chosen. As they carried him up and down in the streets, one M^r^ John Wertbrown cry'd out, "*No Tower men, no men out of the Tower!*" which was echo'd by nobody; most of the freemen, and particularly the seamen, being wholly against such a choice, and declaring that, had they bin concern'd in it, they would have chosen M^r^ Pepys.

This account is exactly true.

B.L. orig.] *Dr. Gale*[1] *to S. Pepys.*

January, 1689–90, Thursday, 7 Morn^g^.

Sir—Last night, at my returne, I found this letter,

[1] Thomas Gale, D.D., was born at Scruton, in Yorkshire, and educated at Westminster School; from whence he went to Trinity

which, with the first opportunity, I thought it my duty to communicate to you.

Sir, I am your very humble Servant,

THOMAS GALE.

Dr. Cumberland[1] *to Dr. Gale.*

(Enclosed in the above.)

Stamford, January 14th, 1689-90.

Honoured Sir—I have received both your letters of enquiry about Walcote House[2] and I did not answer suddenly to your first, because you therein gave mee time to doe it at my leasure, and because, as to many particulars mentioned therein, I was not sufficiently informed. But your second letter, intimating your desire to hear what answer I can give, sooner than I imagined, hath induced mee to hasten this account, though it bee very imperfect. I have been in the house several times while it was Sr H. Cholmely's, being acquainted both with him and his lady; but, being altogether unacquainted with Mr. Worthley, I never was in it since it came into his hands, though I have often rid by it. Its distance from our towne of Stamford is about two miles. The outward view of the house is very beautiful, being adorned with a large lanterne, as it were, on a cupola at the top and leads: the figure a regular oblong, and all the windows placed uniformly. All the inward rooms were not finisht when I was in it, but many were, and well adorned. I am informed it's much improved by Mr Worthley, both in the rooms and gardens; there is a wall both about the garden and other

College, Cambridge, where he obtained a fellowship, and became Greek Professor of the University. In 1672, he was chosen High Master of St. Paul's School, which office he held for twenty-five years. In 1676, he was made a Prebendary of St. Paul's, and, in 1697, advanced to the Deanery of York; but he enjoyed this dignity only a short time, dying April 8, 1702, æt. 67. He was a learned theologian, skilled in history and archæology, and an excellent Greek scholar; the works which he published furnish evidences of his industry and talents. He also possessed a noble library, and a curious collection of MSS., which he bequeathed to his son Roger, well known as a zealous antiquary.—*Abridged from Knight's Life of Dean Colet.*

[1] Rector of All Saints, Stamford, and, in 1691, made Bishop of Peterborough.

[2] The house alluded to was built by Sir Hugh Cholmley about 1675, and sold by him to the Hon. Sidney Wortley Montague, who alienated it to the Noel family.

yards and enclosed ground. There are plentiful springs near it, but not much wood that I have taken notice of: those who are critical about the matter say the house is too large and good for the small estate in land which adjoines to it, and they add that an inward wall in it was ill-built, and hath crusht an arch therein, and thereby hath endanger'd to thrust out one of the outward walls, which is strengthened and secured by some buttresses. I guesse that your occasion of enquireing about it may bee in behalfe of some purchaser; wherefore, I advise that my imperfect knowledge and unskilfull judgement in a matter of such consequence be not trusted to, but that the person concern'd should trust his owne eyes and skill, or employ a judicious surveyour. There are many outhouses about it, but how convenient cannot well be judged but by him that knows the wants or designes of him who is to dwell therein, and make use of the conveniencies. The land about is healthy, and most convenient for the pleasure of hunting. This is the best information I can give you at present. I hope to bee in London between Easter and Whitsunday, if not sooner, and there to have more opportunity of enjoying the benefit of your learned converse and skill in books. My residence in this place, so distant from the city, denies mee the opportunity of knowing many books which I sometimes hear of and finde quoted, but cannot see, consult, or peruse: particularly in these late revolutions, I heare of the great Collection of the Elder English Historians, wherein you have befriended the world, but I have not seen the entire work, but some part of it onely. If I live to come to London, I shall entreat you to assist me in procureing some such books at the best hand. I hope you will excuse the freedome I use with you, for, because I greatly value your learneing, I presse forward into acquaintance with you, desireing ever to bee

Yours, &c., RIC. CUMBERLAND.

C. orig.] *John Evelyn to S. Pepys.*

August, 1690.

Sir—This hasty script is to acquaint you, that my Lord Bishop of S[t] Asaph[1] will take it for an honour to be thought able to give M[r] Pepys any light in those mysteries you and I have discoursed of.[2] He would himself wait

[1] William Lloyd, translated from Lichfield and Coventry, 1680. Ob. 1692.

[2] The Apocalypse.

upon you, but I did not think it convenient to receive that compliment for you, at first. To-morrow his Lordship says, he eating no dinner, shall be alone, and ready to receive your commands, if it be seasonable to you. I suppose about 3 o'clock in the afternoon may be a convenient time for me to wait upon you to his Lordship, or what other sooner hour you appoint. J. E.

The Lords in the Tower, and other prisoners, against whom there is no special matter chargeable, are to be freed upon bail. My Lord Clarendon is also within that qualification, as the Bishop tells me.

C.] *S. Pepys to the Gentlemen*[1] *who bailed him, upon his release from Prison.*

October 15, 1690.

Being this day become once again a free man in every respect, I mean, but that of my obligation to you and the rest of my friends, to whom I stand indebted for my being so, I think it but a reasonable part of my duty to pay you and them my thanks for it in a body; but know not how otherwise to compass it, than by begging you, which I hereby do, to take your share with them and me here, to-morrow, of a piece of mutton, which is all I dare promise you, besides that of my being ever

Your most bounden and faithful humble Servant,

S. P.

C. orig.] *John Evelyn to S. Pepys.*

Deptford, 7ber 26, 1690. Morning.

Sir—*Si vales, bene est, &c.* Without more ceremony, then, and that my small excursion be no impediment to the perfecting your collection,—to the Queries. In the days of Queen Eliz., for before her time I hardly hear of any, came over one Crispin van de Pas; and in King James's, his brother Symon, who calls himself Passæus; and afterwards there came, and in Charles 1st's time, one Elstrack, Stock, De la Rem, and Miriam; and of our own countrymen, Cecil, Martin, Vaughan, and especially Jo. Paine, for I forbear to mention Marshal, Crosse, and some other lamentable fellows, who engraved the effigies of the noblemen, &c. then flourishing. These prints were sold

[1] Sir Peter Palavicini, Mr. James Houblon, Mr. Blackburne, and Mr. Martin.

by George Humble and Sudbury, at the Pope's Head in Cornhill; by Jenner, at the Exchange; one Seager, I know not where, and Roger Daniel: but who had the most choice was M^r^ Peake, near Holborn Conduit; and if there be any who can direct you where you may most likely hear what became of their plates and works of this kind, I believe nobody may so well inform you as M^r^ Faithorne, father to the bookseller, who, if I am not mistaken, was apprentice to Sir W^m^ Peake, for both he and Humble were made Knights, and therefore it may be worth your while to enquire of him. There came afterwards, you know, Lucas Vosterman, Hollar, Lombart, and other excellent artists; but these were of later times, which you do not enquire of. They wrought after Vandyke, the Arundelian Collection, and best painters. And now of late the skilful in Mezzo-tinto masters, who, for imitation of life, sometimes excel the *burin* itself ever so accurately handled. But of this enough:—I send you, Sir, my face, such as it was of yore, but it is now so no more, *tanto mutata;* and with it, what you may find harder to procure, the Earl of Nottingham,[1] Lord High Admiral; which, though it make a gap in my poor Collection, to which it was glad, I most cheerfully bestow it upon you, and would accompany it with the other two, were I master of them. I have Sir George Villiers, when a youth and newly dignified, in a small trifling print, not at all fit for you, who ought to have him when he was a Duke and Admiral; and of such there are many, easily to be had. I am sure his picture is below several flattering dedications, though at present I do not well remember where. But this I do, that there is a Taille-douce of that mighty favourite, almost as big as the life, and nothing inferior to any of the famous Nanteuil's, graved by one Jacob, of Delft, in Holland, from a painting of Miereveld, that were well worth the sending even into Holland for, and for whatever else is of this kind, of that incomparable workman's hand: I have once seen it, and took this notice of it to mention it in a new edition of my Calcographie, when I have leisure to revise that trifle. Lastly, as to my Lord Chancellor Hide, though I have not his effigies among the rest that I have huddled together, always presuming to get it of my Lord Clarendon, but perpetually forgetting to ask it, yet I can direct you where to come by it, and perhaps you have it already in your library: 'tis but enquiring where Sir W. Dugdale's History of the Lord

[1] Daniel Finch, second Earl of Nottingham.

Chancellors was printed, and there you will find him, and the rest of the Long Robe, if you have a mind to them. Have you been at M^r^ Baker's shop, near the old Exchange? Cannot M^r^ White furnish you? I am deceived if he has not graved most of the Chancellors since his Majesty's restoration. Y^r^ most humble, faithful Servant,

J. EVELYN.

C.] *S. Pepys to W. Hewer.*

December 23, 1690.

Mr. Hewer—I don't know how to let go what you observed to me yesterday, touching the late learned descant made by some of our Admirals upon the words at the bottom of my printed head, without telling you that I could be well contented Mr. Southerne were told, when next he comes in the way of Mr. Martin, that whatever reckoning I may make of his learning, I own too great an esteem for that of my Lord of Pembroke to think it possible for him to misplace upon me the honour of answering for a sentence so much above my ambition of fathoming, or the authority of any man else to censure, but he, if any such there be, that would be thought a Latinist, orator, and philosopher, fit to stand up with Cicero, whose very words these are, in that excellent and most divine chapter, his *Somnium Scipionis.*

Tu vero enitere, et sic habeto, te non esse mortalem, sed Corpus hoc. Nec enim is est quem forma ista declarat; sed mens cujusque is est quisque, *non ea figura quæ digito monstrari potest.*

A thought derived to him from Plato, and wrought upon after him by St. Paul. I am, &c.,

S. PEPYS.

C. orig.] *The Bishop of London*[1] *to S. Pepys.*

Dec^r^ 1691.

Sir—When I tell you I write in behalf of an eminently honest man, I hope you will pardon more easily my importunity. The bearer, M. Nutt, though I have very little acquaintance with him, is one that I value highly for two actions of his life very unusual in this age.—When, upon the credit he had given King Charles II^d^, he found himself sinking from an estate of £10 or 12,000 to nothing, he returned back to the value of £3000 of money just then

[1] Henry Compton, translated from Oxford, 1675: ob. 1713.

put into his hands, telling his creditors that he was no longer responsible. His other action was more generous than this; for being called to witness the title of a gentleman who had not wherewithal to reward him, he being himself not worth a groat, he refused to keep back his evidence, though he was offered a considerable reward by the other party, which would have supported him all his life. Upon these merits it is that I would beg of you to use your interest with M^r^ Southerne,[1] to bestow some clerk's or other place upon him under the Admiralty, to get him bread. If it were my brother, I could not with more concern intreat you, in this particular, to oblige, Sir,

Y^r^ most obedient humble Serv^t^,

H. LONDON.

C.] *S. Pepys to John Evelyn.*

January 9, 1691-2.

Sir—I would have come at you the other night at St. Martin's on that grievous occasion,[2] but could not. Nor would I have failed in attending you before, to have condoled the death of that great man, had I been for some time in a condition of going abroad. Pray let Dr. Gale, Mr. Newton, and myself, have the honour of your company to-day, forasmuch as Mr. Boyle being gone, we shall want your help in thinking of a man in England fit to be set up after him for our Peireskius, besides Mr. Evelyn. I am sure I know what I think upon it, and shall not spare to tell it you. A happy new year to you, from your faithful, obedient Servant, S. P.

C.] *S. Pepys to John Evelyn.*

Easter Monday, 1692.

Sir—The last being Confession, this in all good conscience should be Restitution Week; and, as far as I am able, the first act of it shall be the acquitting myself honestly towards you, in reference to that vast treasure of papers[3] which I have had of yours so many years in my hands, in hopes of that otium I have now for three years been master of, but on conditions easily to be guessed at,

[1] James Southerne, Clerk of the Acts, 1688, and in 1694 an Extra Commissioner of the Navy.

[2] Mr. Boyle's funeral.

[3] The papers, after all, were not returned, nor has the MS. History of the Dutch War ever been traced.

which have not allowed me the company of more of my papers than I was content to adventure being visited and disordered; and it is not above three weeks since I have taken the liberty of remanding any of them within my reach. Out of these I have made shift to collect all that relate to the State concernment in the ministry of Sir R. Browne, and those of your own growth towards the History of our Dutch War, 1665, which, with that which followed it in 1672, I wish I could see put together by your hand, as greatly suspecting they will prove the last instances of the sea actions of this nation, which will either bear telling at all, or be worthy of such an historian as Mr. Evelyn. Another piece of restitution I have to make you, is your Columna Trajani, which, out of a desire of making the most use of, with the greatest care to my eyes, I put out unfortunately to an unskilful hand, for the washing its prints with some thin stain to abate the too strong lustre of the paper: in the execution whereof part of it suffered so much injury, that not knowing with what countenance to return it, I determined upon making you amends by the first fair book I could meet with; but with so ill success that, notwithstanding all my industry at auctions, and otherwise, I have only been able to lay my eye on one, fair or foul, at Scott's, and that wholly wanting the historical part; Sir Peter Lely, whose book it was, contenting himself with so much and no more, as touched the profession of a painter without that of a scholar. I have therefore thought it more religious to restore so great a jewel as your own book, even with this damage.

S. P.

C. orig.] *Gregory King, Lancaster Herald, to S. Pepys.*

With an Enclosure: *vide* note.[1]

Dresden, Feb^{ry} 7, 1692–3.

Hon^{d} Sir—I should not forgive myself if I did not pay you the respect of a line or two, even at this distance.

[1] Quoniam hujusmodi Chronogrammata, ut dicam, hisce Regionibus in usu sunt, quamvis non operæ pretium existimo, facultatem tamen meam explorare visum est.

1692. Johannes Georgius Quartus Elector Saxoniæ Ordine Garteri Dresdæ Investitus.

1692. Per Nobiles Viros Gul. Dutton Colt, Eq. Aur. et Greg. King, Fecial. Lancaster. Angliæ Regis ut et Reginæ, Legatos et Deputatos.

1692. Die Jovis Vicesimo Sexto Januar. 11 Veteri Stylo, in Atrio Gigant. GR. KING.

The Gazette by this time will inform you of the ceremony of investing His Electoral Highness of Saxony, John George the 4th, with the Order of the Garter, in the Great Hall here, called Atrium Gigantum, on Thursday, Jan^{y} 26, 1692. To which I will only add, that the Elector is highly pleased with the Order, which he has not only testified by the noble presents he has made to the Commissioners and all their Retinue, but by the perfect good humour he has shown ever since, and by his bestowing upon Sir William Colt, my Colleague, the Badge of Sincerity, a kind of Order established by the 2 Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony a year or two ago, which he took from his own arm and put upon Sir William's, being worn in nature of a bracelet: it is an enamelled jewel, of an oval form, about an inch long, wherein is enamelled 2 hands in armour, with this motto—*Uni à jamais*, and on the other *Amitié sincère*. "The first motto," said the Elector, upon giving it to Sir William, "is for the King and myself, the next is for you and I." I will give you a draught of it at my return; the ornament is only 4 diamonds on the outside. The day after the ceremony was a famous tilting, 30 on a side, all gentlemen of 8 descents, and the day after that were most noble fireworks. The next day, being Sunday, the 26th, we had audience of leave, and Sir William presently after delivered new credentials as Envoy. We dined with the Elector that day, and he told me he would give me my passport for England, which he did. The next day we were carried to see the strong fortress of Konigstein, about 16 or 18 miles from hence, upon the frontiers of Bohemia, and returned the next day and dined at the Elector's charge, as we did from the time of our first audience, being attended by several gentlemen, and the Elector's pages and footmen: since which we are upon our own account. Yesterday we were shown the arsenal, the armoury, where there are 36 chambers for that purpose, and then the 7 chambers of rarities, all highly worth seeing, besides the stables. On Thursday next is a masquerade in boor's habits, 30 ladies and gentlemen, and among them the Elector and Electrice, and on Friday a magnificent opera, all in honour of the Order; after which I return with all diligence for England, and shall long to kiss your hands, and to assure you how truly I am,

Y^{r} most obed^{t} Ser^{t}, GRE^{RY} KING.

C. orig.] *John Evelyn to S. Pepys.*

Wotton, August 2, 1692.

I have been philosophizing and world-despising in the solitudes of this place, whither I am retired to pass and mourn the absence of my worthiest friend. Here is wood and water, meadows and mountains, the Dryads and Hamadryads; but here's no M^r^ Pepys, no D^r^ Gale. Nothing of all the cheer in the parlour that I taste; all's insipid, and all will be so to me, till I see and enjoy you again. I long to know what you do, and what you think, because I am certain you do both what is worthy the knowing and imitation. On Monday next will M^r^ Bently resume his lecture, I think, at Bow Church: I fear I shall hardly get through this wilderness by that time. Pray give him your wonted confidence, if you can, and tell him how unhappily I am entangled. I hope, however, to get home within this fortnight, and about the end of October to my hyemation in Dover-street. My son is gone with the Lord Lieutenant, and our new relation, Sir Cyril Wych, into Ireland: I look they should return wondrous Statesmen, or else they had as well have stayed at home. I am here with Boccalini, and Erasmus's Praise of Folly, and look down upon the world with wondrous contempt, when I consider for what we keep such a mighty bustle. *O fortunate* M^r^ Pepys! who knows, possesses, and enjoys all that's worth the seeking after. Let me live among your inclinations, and I shall be happy.

J. Evelyn.

C. *S. Pepys to Isaac Newton.*

November 22, 1693.

Sir—However this comes accompanied to you with a little trouble, yet I cannot but say, that the occasion is welcome to me, in that it gives me an opportunity of telling you that I continue sensible of my obligations to you, most desirous of rendering you service in whatever you shall think me able, and no less afflicted when I hear of your being in town, without knowing how to wait on you till it be too late for me to do it. This said, and with great truth and respect, I go on to tell you that the bearer, Mr. Smith, is one I bear great goodwill to, no less for what I personally know of his general ingenuity, industry, and virtue, than for the general reputation he has in this town, inferior to none, but superior to most,

for his mastery in the two points of his profession; namely, fair writing, and arithmetic, so far, principally, as is subservient to accountantship. Now, so it is, that the late project, of which you cannot but have heard, of Mr. Neale, the groom-porter's lottery, has almost extinguished, for some time, at all places of public conversation in this town, especially among men of numbers, every other talk but what relates to the doctrine of determining between the true proportions of the hazards incident to this or that given chance or lot. On this occasion, it has fallen out that this gentleman is become concerned, more than in jest, to compass a solution that may be relied upon beyond what his modesty will suffer him to think his own alone, or any less than Mr. Newton's, to be, to a question which he takes a journey on purpose to attend you with, and prayed my giving him this introduction to you to that purpose, which, not in common friendship only, but as due to his so earnest application after truth, though in a matter of speculation alone, I cannot deny him; and therefore trust you will forgive me in it, and the trouble I desire you to bear, at my instance, of giving him your decision upon it, and the process of your coming at it: wherein I shall esteem myself on his behalf greatly owing to you, and remain,

Honoured Sir, your most humble,
And most affectionate and faithful Servant, S. P.

C. orig.] *Isaac Newton to S. Pepys.*

Cambridge, Nov^br^ 26, 1693.

S^r^—I was very glad to hear of your good health by M Smith, and to have any opportunity given me of showing how ready I should be to serve you or your friends upon any occasion, and wish that something of greater moment would give me a new opportunity of doing it, so as to become more useful to you than in solving only a mathematical question. In reading the question, it seemed to me at first to be ill stated; and in examining M^r^ Smith about the meaning of some phrases in it, he put the case of the question the same as if A played with six dice till he threw a six; and then B threw as often with twelve, and C with eighteen, the one for twice as many, the other for thrice as many, sixes. To examine who had the advantage, I took the case of A throwing with one dice, and B with two—the former till he threw a six, the latter as often for two sixes; and

found that A had the advantage. But whether A will have the advantage when he throws with six, and B with twelve dice, I cannot tell; for the number of dice may alter the proportion of the chances considerably, and I did not compute it in this case, the problem being a very hard one. And, indeed, upon reading the question anew, I found that these cases do not come within the question; for here an advantage is given to A by his throwing first till he throws a six: whereas, the question requires, that they throw upon equal luck and by consequence that no advantage be given to any one by throwing first. The question is this: A has six dice in a box, with which he is to fling a six; B has in another box twelve dice, with which he is to fling two sixes; C has in another box eighteen dice, with which he is to fling three sixes. Q^y^, whether B and C have not as easy a task as A, at even luck? If this last question must be understood according to the plainest sense of the words, I think that sense must be this:—

1st. Because A, B, and C, are to throw upon even luck, there must be no advantage of luck given to any of them by throwing first or last, by making any thing depend upon the throw of any one, which does not equally depend on the throws of the other two: and, therefore, to bar all inequality of luck on these accounts, I would understand the question as if A, B, and C, were to throw all at the same time.

2^dly^. I take the most proper and obvious meaning of the words of the question to be, that when A flings more sixes than one, he flings a six, as well as when he flings but a single six, and so gains his expectation: and so, when B flings more sixes than two, and C more than three, they gain their expectations. But if B throw under two sixes, and C under three, they miss their expectations; because, in the question, 'tis expressed that B is to throw two, and C three sixes.

3^dly^. Because each man has his dice in a box, ready to throw, and the question is put upon the chances of that throw, without naming any more throws than that, I take the question to be the same as if it had been put thus upon single throws.

What is the expectation or hope of A to throw every time one six, at least, with six dice?

What is the expectation or hope of B to throw every time two sixes, at least, with twelve dice?

What is the expectation or hope of C to throw every time three sixes, or more than three, with eighteen dice?

And whether has not B and C as great an expectation or hope to hit every time what they throw for, as A hath to hit what he throws for?

If the question be thus stated, it appears, by an easy computation, that the expectation of A is greater than that of B or C: that is, the task of A is the easiest: and the reason is, because A has all the chances on sixes on his dice for his expectation, but B and C have not all the chances upon theirs; for, when B throws a single six, or C but one or two sixes, they miss of their expectations. This M^r^ Smith understands, and therefore allows that, if the question be understood as I have stated it, then B and C have not so easy a task as A; but he seems of opinion, that the question should be so stated; that B and C, as well as A, may have all the chances of sixes on their dice within their expectations. I do not see that the words of the question, as 'tis set down in your letter, will admit it; but this being no mathematical question, but a question what is the true mathematical question, it belongs not to me to determine it. I have contented myself, therefore, to set down how, in my opinion, the question, according to the most obvious and proper meaning of the words, is to be understood; and that, if this be the true state of the question, then B and C have not so easy a task as A: but, whether I have hit the true meaning of the question, I must submit to the better judgment of yourself and others. If you desire the computation, I will send it you. I am, Sir,

Y^r^ most humble and most obedient Servant,

Is. Newton.

Isaac Newton to S. Pepys.

Cambridge, Dec^r^ 16, 1693.

Sir—In stating the case of the wager, you seem to have exactly the same notion of it with me; and to the question, Which of the three chances should Peter chuse, were he to have but one throw for his life? I answer that if I were Peter, I would chuse the first. To give you the computation upon which this answer is grounded, I would state the question thus:—

A hath six dice in a box, with which he is to fling at least one six, for a wager laid with R.

B hath twelve dice in another box, with which he is to fling at least two sixes, for a wager laid with S.

C hath eighteen dice in another box, with which he is to fling at least three sixes, for a wager laid with T.

The stakes of R, S, and T, are equal; what ought A, B, and C, to stake, that the parties may play upon equal advantage?

To compute this, I set down the following progressions of numbers:

Progr. 1.	1	2	3	4	5	6	the number of the dice.
Progr. 2.	0	1	3	6	10	15	
Progr. 3.	6	36	216	1296	7776	46656	the number of all the chances upon them.
Progr. 4.	5	25	125	625	3125	15625	the number of chances without sixes.
Progr. 5.	1	5	25	125	625	3125	
Progr. 6.	1	10	75	500	3125	18750	chances for one six and no more.
Progr. 7.		1	5	25	125	625	
Progr. 8.		1	15	150	1250	9375	chances for two sixes and no more.

The progressions in this table are thus found: the first progression, which expresses the number of the dice, is an arithmetical one; viz., 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, &c.; the second is found, by adding to every term, the term of the progression above it; viz., $0+1=1$, $1+2=3$, $3+3=6$, $6+4=10$, $10+5=15$, &c.; the third progression, which expresses the number of all the chances upon the dice, is found by multiplying the number 6 into itself continually; and the fourth, fifth, and seventh, are found by multiplying the number 5 into itself continually; the sixth is found by multiplying the terms of the first and fifth; viz. $1\times1=1$, $2\times5=10$, $3\times25=75$, $4\times125=500$, &c.; and the eighth is found by multiplying the terms of the second and seventh; viz., $1\times1=1$, $3\times5=15$, $6\times25=150$, $10\times125=1250$, &c.; and by these rules the progressions may be continued on to as many dice as you please.

Now, since A plays with six dice, to know what he and R ought to stake, I consult the numbers in the column under six, and there, from 46656, the number of all the chances upon those dice expressed in the third progression, I subduct 15625, the number of all the chances without a six, expressed in the fourth; and the remainder, 31031, is the number of all the chances, with one six or above: therefore, the stake of A must be to the stake of R, upon equal advantage, as 31031 to 15625, or $\frac{31031}{15625}$ to 1; for their stakes must be as their expectations, that is, as the number of chances which make for them. In like manner, if you would know what B and S

ought to stake upon twelve dice, produce the progressions to the column of twelve dice, and the sum of the numbers in the fourth and sixth progressions; viz., 244140625 + 585937500 = 830078125, will be the number of chances for S; and this number, subducted from the number of all the chances in the third progression, viz., 2176782336, will leave 1346704211, the number of chances for B: therefore, the stake of B would be to the stake of S, as 1346704211 to 830078125, or $\frac{1346704211}{830078125}$ to 1. And so, by producing the progressions to the number of eighteen dice, and taking the sum of the numbers in the fourth, sixth, and eighth progressions for the number of the chances for T, and the difference between this number and that in the third column for the number of the chances for C, you will have the proportion of their stakes upon equal advantage. And thence it will appear that, when the stakes of R, S, and T, are units, suppose one pound or one guinea, and by consequence equal, the stake of A must be greater than that of B, and that of B greater than that of C; and, therefore, A has the greatest expectation. The question might have been thus stated, and answered in fewer words: if Peter is to have but one throw for a stake of £1000, and has his choice of throwing either one six at least upon six dice, or two at least upon twelve, or three at least upon eighteen, which throw ought he to chuse; and of what value is his chance or expectation upon every throw, were he to sell it? Answer: Upon six dice there are 46656 chances, whereof 31031 are for him; upon twelve, there are 2176782336 chances, whereof 1346704211 are for him: therefore, his chance or expectation is worth the $\frac{31031}{46656}$th part of £1000 in the first case, and the $\frac{1346704211}{2176782336}$th part of £1000 in the second; that is, £665 0*s.* 2*d.* in the first case, and £618 13*s.* 4*d.* in the second. In the third case, the value will be found still less. This, I think, Sir, is what you desired me to give you an account of; and, if there be any thing further, you may command

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

IS. NEWTON.

C.] *S. Pepys to Dr. Smith.*

April 15, 1695.

Reverend Sir—You may be surprised, but won't, I dare say, be offended, that, at the instance of our excellent friend, Dr. Charlett of Oxford, I come so soon to ask, for another,

a favour it is so little a while since I troubled you for to myself. It is in behalf of this young man,[1] the bearer: one whose outside would not lead you to expect such an errand from him, his education also bespeaking it as little; as having been bred at Coventry, in a trade not very apt to give any occasion for it. But so it is, that by a strange bent of nature he has spontaneously given himself up to the love of Antiquities, and looking into Records; Dr. Charlett telling me of several Catalogues of MSS. now before them at Oxford, which they owe to his transcribing: and, after this, what can you think his present want to be, and the only errand that has brought him up to London, and this the first time of his being here, but a curiosity only to see the inside of Sir John Cotton's Library, which pray let me, in Dr. Charlett's name and my own, beg you to indulge him an opportunity for, when it may be with least trouble to yourself. And to reconcile this curiosity of his a little more to you, I have it to observe that, though it was his fortune to be disposed of by his friends to a trade, as I have told you, yet was it not, as I understand, without his having been first raised to an academical degree of grammar-learning; so, as books are not wholly strangers to him, and by consequence your favour to him will not want being understood, though it may of being enough acknowledged either by him or me, who am, with all respect,

Your most faithful and
Most humble Servant, S. P.

C.] *S. Pepys to Mr. Steward.*

September 20, 1695.

Madam—You are very good, and pray continue so, by as many kind messages as you can, and notices of your health, such as the bearer brings you back my thanks for, and a thousand services. Here's a sad town, and God knows when it will be a better, our losses at sea making a very melancholy exchange at both ends of it; the

[1] Humphrey Wanley, son to the Rev. Nathaniel Wanley, Vicar of Trinity Church in Coventry, and better known as the author of the *Wonders of the Little World.* He was sent to Edmund Hall, Oxford, by Lloyd, Bishop of Lichfield, &c., whence he soon removed to University College, at the instance of Dr. Charlett, who had observed his attention to matters of antiquity. He became, some years afterwards, Librarian to the Earl of Oxford, whose son and successor retained him in his service. He died in July, 1276.—*Biographical Dict^y.*

gentlewomen of this, to say nothing of the other, sitting with their arms across, without a yard of muslin in their shops to sell, while the ladies, they tell me, walk pensively by, without a shilling, I mean a good one, in their pockets to buy. One thing there is, indeed, that comes in my way as a Governor to hear of, which carries a little mirth with it, and indeed is very odd—Two wealthy citizens are lately dead, and left their estates, one to a Blue Coat boy, and the other to a Blue Coat girl, in Christ's Hospital. The extraordinariness of which has led some of the magistrates to carry it on to a match, which is ended in a public wedding; he in his habit of blue satin, led by two of the girls, and she in blue, with an apron green, and petticoat yellow, all of sarsnet, led by two of the boys of the house, through Cheapside to Guildhall Chapel, where they were married by the Dean of St. Paul's, she given by my Lord Mayor. The wedding-dinner, it seems, was kept in the Hospital Hall, but the great day will be to-morrow, St. Matthew's; when, so much I am sure of, my Lord Mayor will be there, and myself also have had a ticket of invitation thither, and, if I can, will be there too; but, for other particulars, I must refer you to my next, and so,

Dear Madam, adieu, S. P.

Bow bells are just now ringing, ding dong, but whether for this, I cannot presently tell; but it is likely enough, for I have known them ring upon much foolisher occasions, and lately too.

C. orig.] *E. Wright to S. Pepys.*

Nov^r 10, 1696.

Hon^d Sir—Col. Scott, your prosecutor, is again turned for England: when he arrived first, he was in the habit of a Dutch Skipper, which disguised him very much; but now he has got good clothes and a perriwig. He was at a friend's house of mine some few days past, and pretended he had got his pardon for killing the coachman; but he tells me he does not believe it. This I thought good to acquaint you.

I am, Sir, y^r most humble Serv^t,

EDW^D WRIGHT.

[Pepys, in answer, particularly requested to have further information, which produced a second letter from Mr. Wright:]

Nov^{r} 12, 1696.

Hon. Sir—I have now learnt as much as I could since the other day. Col. Scott, about 7 weeks ago, came to England in a seaman's habit: he was not seen by any body I know till about 16 days ago, and then he appeared in pretty good habit, and a bob wig on and pulled out a parchment with a broad seal to it, and said it was his pardon, and desired that man to get a silver box made to put it in; but he has not seen him since. The Colonel was at his house yesterday, but he was not at home. Whether it was a pardon or not, he cannot tell; but Kings do not use to grant pardons before conviction, unless it be to noblemen, as to the Duke of Buckingham for killing Lord Shrewsbury, or the like the present King did to Colonel Beveridge for killing M^{r} Danby, and to some outlaws that he brought with him. But Colonel Scott has always been obnoxious to him: when he was in Scotland, he ran away with his regiment's money, and was hanged in effigy: besides, I have employed a friend to search the Hanaper Office and the Petty Bag Office, where all patents of that nature pass, and for 16 years there has been no such patent passed. I am informed that he lives in Gray's Inn, by 2 people that he has told so to. If I can any way further serve your honour, no person shall do it more faithfully. EDWARD WRIGHT.

When Scott returned out of Holland, he told my friend he had a bill from the Bank at Amsterdam of £100 upon the Bank here, and could not get his money. His person and carriage are not a bit altered.

C. orig.] *Edmund Gibson*[1] *to S. Pepys.*

Lambeth, November 25, 1696.

Honored Sir—I here send you the Index of the Catalogue, so far as Bodley's Library is concerned. I have also enclosed a short account of the life of Sir Thomas Bodley, and of the foundation and encrease of his Library; you may, if you please, keep them by you till called for. The other day I met with a Catalogue of the Clergy in the Archdeaconry of Middlesex, taken in 1563 with an account of each man's learning and abilities; in short, observing the strangeness of the characters, I ran over the

[1] The learned Edmund Gibson, at this time Domestic Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, became, in 1715, Bishop of Lincoln; and, in 1720, was translated to the See of London. Ob. 1748.

whole, and, as I went along, branched them under different heads, whereby their several abilities in learning are there expressed. It is a fancy I know you will be pleased with, and therefore I make bold to give you this short view of the learning of those times.

Docti Latinè et Græcè	III.	Latinè per parum utcunque aliquid, pauca verba, &c. intellex : .	XLII.
Docti	XII.		
Mediocriter Docti . . .	II.		
Latinè Docti	IX.	Latinè non Docti . .	XIII.
Latinè mediocriter intell :	XXXI.	Indocti	IV.

If the London Clergy were thus ignorant, what must we imagine the country Divines were? I beg your pardon for this trouble, and remain,

Your obliged, humble Servant,

EDM. GIBSON.

C.[1] *The Lord Reay*[2] *to S. Pepys.*

Durness, 24th October, 1699.

Honoured Sir—Conforming to my promise, I send you all the information I have met with in the inquiry you recommended to me, touching the Double Sight; and have just now received my Lord Tarbut's[3] answer to me relating thereto, as follows :—

"I remember that, several years ago, in answer to a

[1] The letters which follow, relating to the Second Sight ordinarily pretended to in the Highlands, are here introduced *seriatim*, without reference to the Chronological order observed in the Correspondence.

[2] George Mackay, third Lord Reay, of Durness, in Scotland, F.R.S., a nobleman of parts and learning. Ob. 1748.—*Wood's Peerage.*

[3] In the peerage of Scotland, printed for J. Almonn, 1767, is the following account of Lord Tarbut :—Sir George Mackenzie, eldest son of the first Baronet, was a man of great learning, and well versed in the laws. He had a commission from Charles II., then in exile, to raise what forces he could, in order to promote his restoration; and for those good services, when His Majesty returned to England, he was made a Senator of the College of Justice, Clerk Register, one of the Privy Council, and Justice General; and by James II., created Viscount Tarbut in 1685. In the reign of Queen Anne, he was constituted Secretary of State, and a Privy Councillor; created Earl of Cromartie, in 1702, and continued in the post of Justice General. He died in August, 1714, æt. suæ 84. His grandson, George, third Earl of Cromartie, having taken an active part in the rebellion of 1745, was found guilty of High Treason, and his estates and honours were forfeited to the Crown; but he was pardoned, and permitted to reside in England till his death, in 1766.

letter of Mr. Boyle's, I wrote to him about the Second Sight ; a copy whereof receive enclosed. Since that time, I was not much in the North, nor did I either make any inquiries on purpose, or what I occasionally heard then differ considerably from what I had heard formerly. One particular of which was a footman of your great grandfather's, who was mightily concerned upon seeing a dagger in the Lord Reay's breast. He informed his master of the sight, who laughed at it. Some months after, he gave the doublet which he did wear when the Seer did see the dagger in his breast, to his servant, who did wear or keep it about a year, and then gave it to this footman, who was the Seer, and who was stabbed in the breast by another, when this doublet was upon him. My Lord, you may inquire further into the truth of this."

This, Sir, is the answer I have had from my Lord Tarbut, and I enclose you a copy of his letter therein. I have since informed myself of the truth of the story about my grandfather's footman, and find it literally true ; as also another, much of the same nature, which I shall give you an account of, because I have it from a sure author, a friend of my own, of unexceptionable honesty, to whose father the thing happened, and he was himself witness to it all.

John Macky, of Dilril, having put on a new suit of clothes, was told by a Seer that he did see the gallows upon his coat, which he never noticed ; but, some time after, gave his coat to his servant, William Forbes, to whose honesty there could be nothing said at that time ; but he was shortly after hanged for theft, with the same coat about him : my informer being an eye-witness of his execution, and one who had heard what the Seer said before. I have heard several other stories, but shall trouble you with no more than what have happened since I last came into the country.

There was a servant woman in Mindo Aubrey's house, in Langdale, on Strathnaver, in the Shire of Sutherland, who told her mistress she saw the gallows about her brother's neck, who had then the repute of an honest man : at which her mistress being offended, put her out of the house. Her brother, nevertheless, having stolen some goods, was sentenced to be hanged the 22d August, 1698 ; yet, by the intercession of several gentlemen, who became bail for his future behaviour, was set free, though not customary by our law ; which occasioning one of the gentlemen, Lieutenant Alex. Macky, to tell the woman

servant that she was once deceived, the man being set at liberty, she replied, he is not dead yet, but shall certainly be hanged; and accordingly, he betaking himself to stealing anew, and being catched, was hanged the 14th of February, 1699.

I was this year hunting in my forest, having several Highlanders with me; and, speaking of the Second Sight, one told me there was a boy in company that had it, and had told many things that had fallen out to be true; who being called, and confessing it, I asked him what he saw last: he told me he had seen, the night before, such a man by name, who lived thirty miles from that place, break my Forester's servant's head; which the servant overhearing, laughed at him for saying that; that could not be, they being very good friends: so as I did not believe it, but it has certainly happened since.

These stories, with what is contained in my Lord Tarbut's letter, are the most satisfactory for proving Second Sight of any I have heard, and the people are so persuaded of the truth of it in the Highlands and Isles, that one would be more laughed at for not believing it there than for affirming it elsewhere. For my own part, I do not question it; though that be of small weight towards the persuading others to the belief of it. But I dare affirm, had you the same reasons I have, you would be of my opinion: I mean, had you heard all the stories I have, attested by men of honour not to be doubted, and been eye-witness to some of them yourself, as the breaking of the man's head, foretelling of another's death, and another story, which the same boy told me long ere they happened. There was a blind woman in this country, in my time, who saw them perfectly well, and foretold several things that happened, as hundreds of honest men will attest. She was not born blind, but became so by accident, to that degree, that she did not see so much as a glimmering, yet saw the Second Sight as perfectly as before.

I have got a manuscript, since I came last to Scotland, whose author, though a parson, does, after giving a very full account of the Second Sight, defend there being no sin in it, for reasons too long to be here inserted: but, with the first opportunity, I shall send you a copy of his books; and I have this day received a letter from a friend I had employed for that purpose, promising me the acquaintance of this man, of which I am very covetous, being persuaded it will give me much light in this matter.

There is a people in these countries surnamed "Mansone," who see this sight naturally, both men and women, though they commonly deny it, but are so affirmed to do by all their neighbours. A Seer, with whom I was reasoning on this subject, finding me very incredulous in what he asserted, offered to let me see as well as himself. I asked whether he could free me from seeing them thereafter; whereto he answering me he could not, put a stop to my curiosity. The manner of showing them to another is this: the Seer puts both his hands and feet above your's, and mutters some words to himself: which done, you both see them alike.

This, Sir, is all the information I can send you on this head, till I have the opportunity of sending you the forementioned Treatise: remaining,

Honoured Sir, your most humble Servant,

REAY.

The Lord Tarbut, on the same subject, to Mr. Boyle.

Sir—I had heard very much, but believed very little, of the Second Sight; yet, it being affirmed by several of great veracity, I was induced to make some inquiry after it in the year 1652, being then confined to abide in the North of Scotland by the English Usurpers. The more general accounts of it were, that many Highlanders, yet far more Islanders, were qualified with this sight: that men, women, and children, indistinctively, were subject to it; and sometimes children whose parents were not subject to it; sometimes people when come to age, who had it not when young, nor could any tell by what means produced. It is a trouble to most of those who are subject to it. The sight is of no long duration, only continuing so long as they keep their eyes steadily without trembling: the hardy, therefore, fix their look that they may see the longer, but the timorous see only glances, their eyes always trembling at the first sight of the object. That which is generally seen by them is the species of living creatures and inanimate things which are in motion, such as ships and habits upon persons: they never see the species of any person who is already dead. What they foresee fails not to exist in the mode and place where it appears to them. They cannot tell what space of time shall intervene betwixt the apparition and real existence; but some of the hardiest and longest experience have some rules for conjectures: as, if they

see a man with a shrouding-sheet in the apparition, they would conjecture at the nearness and remoteness of his death by the more or less of his body that is covered with it. They will ordinarily see their absent friends, though at a great distance, sometimes no less than from America to Scotland, sitting, standing, or walking, in some certain place, and then they conclude with assurance that they will see them so and there. If a man be in love with a woman, they will ordinarily see the species of that man standing by her; and so, likewise, if a woman be in love. They conjecture at their marrying, by the species looking on the person; at their not marrying, by the species appearing at a distance from the beloved person. If they see the species of any person who is sick to death, they see them covered over with a shrouding-sheet. These, generally, I had verified to me by such of them as did see, and were esteemed honest and sober by all the neighbourhood, for I inquired after such for my information: and because there were more Seers in the Isles of Lewis, Harris, and Uist, than any other place, I did entreat Sir James M'Donald, who is now dead, Sir Normade M'Leod, and Mr. Daniel Morison, a very honest parson, who is still alive, to make inquiry into this strange sight and to acquaint me therewith; which they did, and found an agreement in these Generals, and informed me of many instances confirming what they said. But, though men of honour and discretion, being but at second hand, I would choose rather to put myself than my friends in the hazard of being laughed at for incredible relations.

I was once travelling in the Highlands, and a good number of servants with me, as is usual there, and one of them going a little before me to enter into a house where I was to stay all night; and, going hastily to the door, he suddenly started back with a screech, and fell by a stone, against which he dashed his foot. I asked what the matter was, for he seemed to me to be very much frighted: he told me very seriously that I should not lodge in that house, because shortly a dead coffin would be carried out of it, for many were carrying it when he was heard cry. I neglecting his words and staying there, he said to others of the servants he was very sorry for it, and that what he saw would surely come to pass; and though no sick person was then there, yet the landlord, a healthy Highlander, died of an apoplectic fit before I left the house.

In the year 1653, Alexander Monro, afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel to the Earl of Dumbarton's regiment, and I were walking in a place called[1] , in Loch Broom, in a little plain at the foot of a rugged hill: there was a servant working with a spade in the walk before us, his back to us, and his face to the hill. He took no notice of us, though we passed by near to him, which made me look at him; and, perceiving that he stared, I conjectured he was a Seer; wherefore, I called to him, at which he started and smiled. "What are you doing?" said I. He answered, "I have seen a very strange thing—an army of Englishmen, leading of horses, coming down that hill; and a number of them are come down to the plain, and eating the barley which is growing in the field near to the hill." This was on the fourth of May, for I noted the day, and it was four or five days before the barley was sown in the field he spoke of. Alexander Monro asked him how he knew they were Englishmen: he answered, because they were leading horses, and had on hats and boots, which he knew no Scotchman would have on there. We took little notice of the whole story as other than a foolish vision, but wished that an English party were there, we being then at war with them, and the place almost inaccessible for horsemen. But the beginning of August thereafter, the Earl of Middleton, then Lieutenant for the King in the Highlands, having occasion to march a party of his towards the South Islands, sent his foot through a place called Inverlacwell, and the forepart, which was first down the hill, did fall to eating the barley which was on the little plain under it; and Monro, calling to mind what the Seer told us in May preceding, wrote of it, and sent an express to me to Lochslime, in Ross, where I then was, with it.

I had occasion to be in company where a young lady was, excuse my not naming of persons, and I was told there was a notable Seer in company; and I called to him to speak with me, as I did ordinarily when I found any of them; and, after he had answered several questions, I asked him if he saw any person to be in love with that lady: he said he did, but knew not the person; for, during the two days he had been in her company, he perceived one standing near her with his head leaning on her shoulders, which he said did foretell that the man should marry her, and die before her, according to his observation. This was in the year 1655. I desired

[1] A blank in the MS.

him to describe the person, which he did; so I could conjecture, by the description, that it was such a one who was of that lady's acquaintance, though there was no thought of their intermarriage till two years afterwards; and having occasion, in the year 1657, to find this Seer, who was an Islander, in company with the other person whom I conjectured to have been described by him, I called him aside, and asked if that was the person he saw beside the lady near two years then past: he said it was he, indeed, for he had seen that lady just then standing by him hand-in-hand. This was some few months before their marriage, and the man is since dead, and the lady still alive. I shall trouble you with but one more, which I thought the most remarkable of all [that] occurred to me. In January, 1682, the above-named Colonel Monro and I happened to be in the house of William M'Leod, of Feirinhed, in the County of Ross; he, the landlord, and I, sitting in three chairs near the fire, and in the corner of the great chimney there were two Islanders who were that very night come to the house, and were related to the landlord. While the one of them was talking with Monro, I perceived the other to look oddly towards me, and from his looks, and his being an Islander, I conjectured that he was a Seer, and asked him why he stared? He answered by desiring me to rise from that chair, for it was an unlucky one. I asked, "Why?" He answered, "Because there was a dead man in the chair next to it."—"Well," said I, "if it be but in the next, I may safely sit here: but what is the likeness of the man?" He said he was a tall man, with a long grey coat, booted, and one of his legs hanging over the chair, and his head hanging down to the other side, and his arm backward, as it were broken. There were then some English troops quartered near the place, and there being at that time a great frost after a thaw, the country was wholly covered over with ice. Four or five Englishmen riding by this house, not two hours after the vision, where we were sitting by the fire, we heard a great noise, which proved to be these troopers, with the help of other servants, carrying in one of their number who had got a very mischievous fall and had his arm broke; and, falling frequently into swooning fits, they brought him to the hall, and set him in the very chair and in the very posture which the Seer had proposed: but the man did not die, though he revived with great difficulty.

Among the accounts given me by Sir Normande M'Leod, there was one worthy of special notice, which was this :—There was a gentleman in the Isle of Harris, who was always seen by the Seers with an arrow in his thigh : such in the Isle who thought these prognostications infallible, did not doubt but he would be shot in the thigh before he died. Sir Normade told me that he heard it the subject of discourse for many years, when that gentleman was present : at last, he died without any such accident. Sir Normade was at his burial at St. Clement's Church, in the Isle of Harris : at the same time the corpse of another gentleman was brought to be buried in the very same church. The friends on either side came to debate who should first enter the church, and, in a trice, from words they came to blows : one of the number, who was armed with a bow and arrow, let one fly among them ; now, every family in that Isle have their burying-place in the church in stone chests, and the bodies are carried on open biers to the place of burial. Sir Normade, having appeased the tumult, one of the arrows was found shot in the dead man's thigh : to this Sir Normade himself was a witness. In the account, Mr. Daniel Morison, Parson in the Lewis, gave me, there was one, which, though it be hetorogeneous from this subject, yet it may be worth your notice.—It was of a young woman in his parish who was mightily frightened by seeing her own image still before her, always when she came into the open air, and the back of the image always to her ; so that it was not a reflection, as in a mirror, but the species of such a body as her own, and in a very like habit, which appeared to herself continually before her. The parson bred her a long time with him, but she had no remedy of her evil, which troubled her exceedingly. I was told afterwards, that, when she was four or five years older, she saw it not.

These are matters of fact, which, I assure you, are truly related ; but these, and all others that occurred to me by information or otherwise, could never lead me into so much as a remote conjecture of the cause of so extraordinary a phenomenon : whether it be a quality in the eyes of some persons, in those parts, concurring with a quality in the air also ; or whether such species be every where, though not seen for want of eyes so qualified, or from whatever cause, I must leave to the inquiry of clearer judgments than my own. But a hint may be taken from this image which appeared still to this young

woman aforementioned, and from another mentioned by Aristotle, in the 4th of his Metaphysics, if I remember right, for it is long since I read it; as also from that common opinion that young infants, unsoiled with many objects, do see apparitions which are not seen by those of older years: likewise from this, that several who did see the Second Sight when in the Highlands or Isles, yet, when transported to live in other countries, especially in America, quite lose this quality; as it was told me by a gentleman who knew some of them in Barbadoes, that did not see any visions there, although he knew them to be Seers when they lived in the Isles of Scotland.

C.] *S. Pepys to the Lord Reay.*

York Buildings, November 21, 1699.

My Lord—I can never enough acknowledge the honour of your Lordship's letter. Could I have foreseen the least part of the fatigue my inquiries have cost your Lordship in the answering, I should have proceeded with more tenderness in the burthening you with them. But, since your Lordship has had the goodness to undergo it, I cannot repent me of being the occasion of your giving the world so early a proof of what may be further expected from a genius so curious, so painful, so discerning, and every way so philosophical, as your Lordship has herein shown yours to be; in the exercise whereof I cannot, as an old man, but wish you a long life, and a happy one, to the honour of your noble family, your country, the whole commonwealth of learning, and more particularly that part of it, the Royal Society of England, dedicated to the advancement of natural knowledge, whereto your Lordship is already become a peculiar ornament.

And now, my Lord, for the matter of your letter: it carries too much observation and weight in it to be too easily spoken to; and, therefore, I shall pray your Lordship's bearing with me if I ask a little more time. This only I shall not spare now to say, that, as to the Second Sight, I little expected to have been ever brought so near to a conviction of the reality of it, as by your Lordship's and Lord Tarbut's authorities I must already own myself to be: not that I yet know how to subscribe my Lord Tarbut's charging it upon some singularity of quality in the air, or eye of the person affected therewith; forasmuch as I have never heard of other consequences of any in-

disposure in the medium or organ of sight, than what related to the miscolouring, misfiguring, diminishing, or undue magnifying, of an object truly existing and exposed thereto; whereas, in this case, we are entertained with daggers, shrouds, arrows, gibbets, and God knows what, that indeed are not, but must be the creatures of the mind only, however directed to them, and not to the eye. Nor yet as to the reality of the effect would I be thought, my Lord, to derive this propension of mine to the belief of it, from the credit only which I find it to have obtained among your neighbours, the Highlanders; for that it hath been my particular fortune to have outlived the belief of another point of faith relating to the eyes, no less extraordinary nor of less universal reception elsewhere;—I mean the *mal de ojo* in Spain; with a third, touching the sanative and prophetic faculty of the *Saludadores* there: as, having heretofore pursued my inquiries thereinto so far, upon the place, as to fully convince myself of the vanity thereof, especially of the latter, from the very confessions of its professors. But, my Lord, where, as in the matter before us, the power pretended to is so far from being of any advantage to the possessors, as, on the contrary, to be attended with constant uneasiness to them, as well as for the most part of evil and serious import, and irresistibly so, to the persons it is applied to; in consequence whereof, as your Lordship well notes, your Seers are both desirous to be themselves rid of it, and ready to communicate it to any other that will adventure on it; I say, these considerations, joined to that of its being so abundantly attested by eyewitnesses of unquestionable faith, authority, and capacity to judge, will not permit me to distrust the truth of it, at least till something shall arise from my further deliberations upon your Lordship's papers leading me thereto, than, I must acknowledge, there yet does; in which case I shall give myself the liberty of resorting again to your Lordship, praying, in the mean time, to know how far I have your leave to make some of my learned friends partakers with me in the pleasure of them, and of what your Lordship has been pleased, with so much generosity, to promise me of further light upon this subject, from the Manuscript lately come to your Lordship's hand, a copy of which will be a most welcome and lasting obligation upon me.

I remain, with most profound respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,

S. PEPYS.

C.] *The Lord Reay to S. Pepys.*

Inverness, January 9th, 1700.

Sir—I had yours some time ago, but have delayed my return, in expectation of sending you the Manuscript I promised you, which, being obliged to stay some time from home, you are not yet to expect from me. You may, if you think fit, communicate my letter to whom you please; for there is nothing in it but what I know to be true, or have good authors for; and think it needless, though I have heard many, to relate more stories of Second Sight, save one which has happened since I wrote last.

A gentleman who was married to a cousin of Drynie's, living in the county of Ross, coming on a visit to him at his house, called him to the door, the ordinary compliments being passed, to speak to him about some business. But when they went out, he was so frightened that he fainted, and, being recovered, would in no wise stay in the house that night, but went with his wife to a farmer's hard by; where, she asking him why he left the house, he told her publicly that he knew Drynie would die that night; for, when they went to the door, he saw his winding sheet about him. And, accordingly, the gentleman did die that night, though he went to bed in perfect health, and had had no sickness for some time before. I had this story from Drynie's own son, the farmer, his servant, and the man himself who saw it. For my part, I am fully convinced of this sight; but what to attribute it to I know not, nor can I be convinced, any more than you, that it depends on any quality, either of the air or eyes, but would gladly know your opinion of it.

I hope to see you shortly in London,

And am, Sir, your very humble Servant,

REAY.

C.] *Dr. Hickes to S. Pepys.*

London, June 19, 1700.

Honoured Sir—I have been ill of a cold since I had the honour to wait upon you and Mr. Hewer, and that hath been the cause why I have been so long in performing the promise I made, of sending you in writing some things you gave me occasion to say, by imparting to me my Lord Reay's letter to you, and the letter my Lord Tarbut

wrote to him concerning the Second Sight. This is a very proper term for that sight which those Scottish Seers or Visionists have of things by representation; for, as the sight of a thing itself is, in order of nature, the first or primary sight of it, so the sight of it, by any representation, whether really made without, as all apparitions are, or within upon the stage of imagination, as all sorts of visions are made, is, in order of nature, the second or secondary sight of that thing; and, therefore, the sight of any thing by representation, though first in order of time, may properly be called the Second Sight thereof. Thus, the sight of a picture, in order of nature, is indeed the second sight of the thing whose picture it is, and, if custom would allow it, might be so called. But the Scotch have restrained the use of the term only to that sight of things by appearance, or representation, which those Seers or Visionists among them use to have; but whether in outward apparitions always, or inward visions, or some times one way, and some the other, I have not yet learned, but it would be an inquiry proper for the subject, and fit for that ingenious Lord to make.

I told you, when I was in Scotland, I never met with any learned man, either among their Divines or Lawyers, who doubted of the thing. I had the honour to hear Lord Tarbut tell the story of the Second Sight, of my Lord Middleton's march with his army down a hill, which you read in the letter written by his Lordship to Mr. Boyle. It was before the Duke of Lauderdale he told it, when his Grace was High Commissioner of Scotland, about twenty-two years ago. At the same time, as I remember, he entertained the Duke with a story of Elf Arrows, which was very surprising to me; they are of a triangular form, somewhat like the beard or pile of our old English arrows of war, almost as thin as one of our old groats, made of flints or pebbles, or such like stones; and these the country people in Scotland believe that Evil Spirits, which they call Elves, from the old Danish word *Alfar*, which signifies *Dæmon*, *Genius*, *Satyrus*, do shoot into the hearts of cattle; and, as I remember, my Lord Tarbut, or some other Lord, did produce one of these Elf arrows, which one of his tenants or neighbours took out of the heart of one of his cattle that died of an usual death.

I have another strange story, but very well attested, of an Elf arrow, that was shot at a venerable Irish Bishop by an Evil Spirit in a terrible noise, louder than thunder

which shaked the house where the Bishop was ;[1] but this I reserve for his son to tell you, who is one of the deprived Irish Clergymen, and very well known, as by other excellent pieces, so by his late book, entitled "*The Snake in the Grass.*" I mention this to encourage you to desire my Lord to send you a more perfect account of these Elf arrows ; the subject being of so near an alliance to that of the Second Sight, and to witchcraft, which is akin to them both. As for this subject, I had a very tragical but authentic story, told me by the Duke of Lauderdale, which happened in the family of Sir John Dalrymple, Laird of Stairs, and then Lord President, as they call the Lord Chief Justice of Scotland. His Grace had no sooner told it me, but my Lord President coming into the room, he desired my Lord to tell it me himself, which altering his countenance, he did with a very melancholick air ; but it is so long since, that I dare not trust my memory with relating the particulars of it, though it was a memorable story : but if my Lord Reay would be pleased to make inquiry into it of the present heir of the family, he would find it a story of great authority, and worthy of being written by his excellent pen.

Sir, I beg your pardon for this digression from the Second Sight to Witches ; and perhaps the Divine whom my Lord Reay tells you hath written a book in defence of the innocency of seeing things by the help of it, would be offended with me for joining them together. In truth, Sir, I long to see that book, being myself uncertain in my opinion whether that way of seeing things be always from a good or evil cause, or sometimes from one, and sometimes from the other. One would hope that, in good men, who contribute nothing towards the having of it, it should be from good spirits, which the old Danes and Norwegians, from whom the Scotch have a great part of their language, called *Lias Alfar*, *i. e.*, Spirits of Light ; but in those who come to have it by certain forms of words, which we call charms, or doing and performing such ceremonies as are mentioned in my Lord's letter, one would think it proceeded from evil spirits, which the old Danes and Norwegians called *Suart Alfar*, *i. e.*, Black Spirits : nay, when wicked men have it, though without contributing any thing towards it by charms or ceremonies, one would fear upon the account of their wickedness, which provokes God and their good angels to abandon them, that it pro-

[1] Richard Lesley, Bishop of Killala, whose son Charles published in 1696 "The Snake in the Grass," a tract against the Quakers.

ceeded from Evil Spirits. It may also be presumed to proceed from the same cause, in men otherwise of unblamed lives, who are addicted to the study of magic, or judicial astrology, or who are known to converse with Demons, as many amongst the learned, both ancient and modern, both foreigners and our own countrymen, are said to have done.

A good number of well-attested stories out of good historians and records, as well as living witnesses, would help to resolve these doubts. Among the former are to be consulted the histories of the old Northern nations, written in old Danish or Swedish, which commonly have the title of *Saga*, which signifies a narration of history, and have been printed of late in Denmark and Sweden. But it may be those theories, and many more, are sufficiently resolved and accounted for in the book above mentioned, which my Lord hath promised to send you; but if not, his Lordship has great opportunities of farther inquiry into facts, by which, as by phenomena, they may be resolved. It was commonly reported, when I was in Scotland, that the Lord Seaforth, then living, had the Second Sight, and thereby foretold a dreadful storm to some of his friends, in which they had like to have been cast away. I once heard the Duke of Lauderdale rally him about it, but he neither did own it nor disown it; according to that maxim of the civil law, "*Qui tacet aut non negat, sic utique non fatetur.*"

At the same time, there was a girl in custody at Edinburgh, whose name was Janet Douglas, about 12 or 13 years of age, famous for the Second Sight, and the discovery of witches, and their malefices and enchantments thereby. This girl first signalized herself in the Western Islands, where she discovered how one Sir G. Maxwell was tormented in effigy by witches. She was not known there, where she made this, which was her first, discovery, but from thence she came to Glasgow, whither her fame having got before her, the people in great numbers ran out to meet her. As she was surrounded with the crowds, she called out to one man, a goldsmith, as I remember, and told him that of so long a time he had not thriven in his trade, though he was very diligent in it, because an image was made against him, which he might find in such a corner of his shop; and when the man went home, there he found it where she said it was; and the image was such, both as to matter and form, as she had described it, viz., a little rude image made of clay. She told another, that

he and his wife, who had been a very loving couple, of late had lived in great discord, to the grief and astonishment of them both; and when the man asked the reason, she answered, as she did before, that there was an image made against them. I have forgot whether she named the witches who made those images, as she did those that made that in which they tortured Sir George Maxwell. But by these, and other such discoveries, she made such tumults and commotions among the people of Glasgow, that the magistrates thought fit to confine her, and sent an account of her to the Privy Council at Edinburgh, who sent for her up in custody; but, when she came near the city, the people went out to meet her in vast crowds, and, as she was surrounded with them, she accused several persons of witchcraft, which obliged them to put her in close confinement, to keep the people and their minds quiet from the commotions she had raised in them. This happened a little before the Duke of Lauderdale went the last time as High Commissioner into Scotland, in May, 1678, when I had the honour to attend him as his domestic Chaplain.

Hearing these and many other stories of this girl, I had a desire to see her and discourse with her; but it was some time before I could obtain leave to go to her, because an order had been made in Council, before we came into Scotland, that no one should be admitted to her. In the interim, upon an invitation by the then Lord Archbishop of Glasgow, Dr. Burnet, of honourable memory, afterwards made Archbishop of St. Andrew's, I went to see Glasgow, where I had the happiness to meet Dr. Rosse, then Lord Bishop of Argyle, who afterwards succeeded Dr. Burnet in the Archbishoprick of St. Andrew's, of which he was deprived, with the whole order, soon after the Revolution. It was from him that I had the stories above related concerning Janet Douglas, with many more which I have forgotten, from her first appearance in the Highlands to her coming to Glasgow. My Lord Archbishop is still living; and if my Lord Reay would please to inquire of him, and many others yet alive, about that girl, he would be able to give you an account of her much more worthy your knowledge than any thing I can now write of her, at so great a distance of time. One thing I must not omit to tell you—that in all her marches from Sir George Maxwell's to Edinburgh, nobody knew her, nor would she discover to any one who she was.

After I returned from Glasgow, I renewed my petition

to my Lord Duke for leave to see Janet Douglas, which he granted me. My desire of seeing her arose from a great curiosity I had to ask her some questions about the Second Sight, by which she pretended to make all her discoveries. I took a reverend and learned Divine with me, one Mr. Scott, Minister of the Church of the Abbey of Holyrood, now the Palace of the Scottish Kings. When we were first brought to her, I found her, as I had heard her described, a girl of very great assurance, undaunted, though surprised at our coming, and suspicious that I was sent to betray her: this made her very shy of conversing with us; but, after many and serious protestations on my own part that I came for no other end but to ask her some questions about the Second Sight, to which she pretended, she at last promised she would freely answer me, provided I would use my interest with my Lord High Commissioner to obtain her liberty, upon condition she went into England, never again to appear in Scotland, which I promised to do.

Upon this I began to premise something of the baseness of lying and deceiving, and especially of pretending to false revelations, and the dangerous consequences of such practices, which made all such lying pretenders odious to God and man; and then, requiring her, in the presence of God, to tell me nothing but the truth, she promised me with a serious air to tell me nothing but the very truth. I then asked her, if indeed she had the Second Sight, and if by that she knew those things she had discovered; to which she answered in the affirmative. I then asked her if she thought it proceeded from a good or evil cause; upon which she turned the question upon me, and asked me what I thought of it. I told her plainly, I feared it was from an evil cause; but she replied quickly, she hoped it was from good. I then asked her if it came upon her by any act of her own, as by saying any words, or performing any actions or ceremonies; to which she replied, No. I asked her, upon this, if she remembered her baptismal vow: but she did not understand my question till I began to explain it; and then, with great quickness, replied, she remembered it, and called to mind that she had renounced the Devil and all his works: and then I told her that by the devil was meant Satan, the prince of devils, and all evil spirits under him, and asked her if she renounced them all, which she said she did. Then I asked her if she [would] renounce them all in a form of words that I had provided; which, promising to

do, I bid her say after me, which she did in the most serious and emphatical expressions that I was able to devise. I then asked her if she could say the Lord's Prayer; she said, Yes: I bid her say it upon her knees, which she did. I then asked her if she ever prayed to God to deliver her from the power of the devil and all evil spirits; but not answering readily and clearly to that question, I then asked her if she would make such a prayer to God upon her knees, which I had composed for her, which she did without any difficulty. Then I proceeded to ask her at what distance she saw persons and things by the Second Sight: she replied, at the same distance they were really from her, whether more or less. Then I asked her if the Second Sight came upon her sleeping or waking: she answered, never sleeping, but always when she was awake. I asked this question, to know whether the Second Sight was by outward representation, which I call apparition, or by inward representation on the theatre of the imagination caused by some spirit; or, that I may once more use my own terms for distinction, whether these Second Sight folks were Seers or Visionists, or sometimes one and sometimes the other. Then I asked her if she was wont to have any trouble, disorder, or consternation of mind, before or after the Second Sight came upon her; to which she answered, never, but was in the same temper at those as at all other times Then I asked her if the Second Sight never left any weariness or faintness upon her, or listlessness to speak, walk, or do any other business; to which she always answered, No; adding, that she was always then as before.

These two answers of hers do not agree with some accounts in my Lord's letter, wherein, as I remember, he speaks of one who said he had always perturbation of mind attending the Second Sight; but, as to this, there may be a difference, from the different temper of the patients, and the different stock and temper of the animal spirits in them. This girl, as I have observed before, was of a bold, undaunted spirit, and might bear those sights, from what cause soever, without any fear or perturbation, which others of more passive tempers, and a less stock of animal spirits, could not so well endure. There seems to have been this difference among the prophets themselves; whereof some, as we read, received the prophetical influx with great terrors, labour, and consternation, of which they complained when their visions or apparitions were

over, and desired of God to be excused from the prophetical influx, and the burthen of it: but, of others, we do not read they had any such complaints. One of the last questions I asked this girl was, if she desired to have the Second Sight taken from her: to which she replied, what God pleased.

After I had discoursed with her in this manner, as long as I thought convenient, I returned home, and gave the Duke an account of my conversation, with which he was pleased; and I also told him of my promise to intercede with his Grace for her liberty, upon condition she might go into England: but he said that would not be convenient, for certain reasons. After receiving which answer, I sent her word I could not obtain her liberty; and so she was shut up all the while we were there, but, soon after we came away, she was set at liberty. When I heard of it, I made all the inquiry I could what was become of her, and how she came to obtain her liberty; but I could not get any further account of her, which made me suspect that she was the child of some person of honour or quality, for whose sake all things were hushed. When I was with her, I asked her of her parentage, but she would tell me nothing of it: I also told her how I observed how her words and expressions were of the better sort, and asked her how she, being a Highlander, and in appearance a poor girl, came to speak so well. To this she artfully replied, by asking me why I should suppose it so difficult for her to learn to express herself well. Indeed, her wit and cunning were both answerable to her assurance, which I told you was very great.

I designed to give a second visit, but my first made so much noise about the town, that it was not thought fit; and I did not press for leave again, because I had reason to believe the denial of her liberty would make her sullen and reserved. The famous Lord Advocate, Sir George Mackenzie, of immortal memory, designed to write her history: but why he did not, I can give no account. People were divided in their opinions of her: some suspected her for an impostrix: but others, of whom I was one myself, thought that she was really what she pretended; being induced to that opinion from the notoriety of the facts which the most incredulous and suspicious could not deny.

If you think these notices worth imparting to Mr. Hewer, I pray you to communicate them to him, and to give him my humble thanks and service. You know

what business I am daily employed in: were not my time and thoughts taken up with that, I would have transcribed the first draft of this narrative with my own hand, and then it would have come to you in a better dress, and more worthy of your perusal; but as it is, be pleased to accept it as a small token of the great respect of him, who, by inclination, as well as by the many obligations you have laid upon him, is, honoured Sir,

Your most obliged, humble Servant, GEO. HICKES.

C. orig.] *Henry, Second Earl of Clarendon to S. Pepys.*

London, May 27th, 1701.

Sr—I cannot give you a greater instance of my willingnesse to gratify your curiosity in any thing within my knowledge, than the sending you this foolish letter. The story I told you the other day relating to what they call in Scotland the Second Sight, is of soe old a date, and soe many of the circumstances out of my memory, that I must begin, as old women doe their tales to children, "Once upon a time."

The matter was thus:—One day, I know by some remarkable circumstances it was towards the middle of February, 1661–2, the old Earl of Newborough [1] came to dine with my father at Worcester-House, and another Scotch gentleman with him, whose name I cannot call to mind. After dinner, as we were standing and talking together in the room, says my Lord Newborough to the other Scotch gentleman, who was looking very stedfastly upon my wife, "What is the matter, that thou hast had thine eyes fixed upon my Lady Cornbury[2] ever since she came into the room? Is she not a fine woman? Why dost thou not speak?"—"She's a handsome Lady, indeed," said the gentleman, "but I see her in blood." Whereupon my Lord Newborough laughed at him; and all the company going out of the room, we parted: and I believe none of us thought more of the matter; I am sure I did not. My wife was at that time perfectly well in health, and looked as well as ever she did in her life. In the beginning of the next month she fell ill of the small-pox: she was always very apprehensive of that

[1] Sir James Livingston, Bart., of Kinnaird, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles I., who created him Viscount Newburgh in 1647. On the Restoration, he was constituted Captain of the Guards, and advanced to the dignity of an Earl. He died December 26, 1670.

[2] Theodosia, third daughter of Arthur, Lord Capel of Hadham.

disease, and used to say, if she ever had it, she would dye of it. Upon the ninth day after the small-pox appeared, in the morning, she bled at the nose, which quickly stopt; but in the afternoon the blood burst out again with great violence at her nose and mouth, and about eleven of the clock that night she dyed, almost weltering in her blood.

This is the best account I can now give of this matter, which tho' I regarded not at the time the words were spoken, yet upon reflection afterwards, I could not but think it odd, if not wonderfull, that a man only looking upon a woman, whom he had never seen before, should give such a prognostick. The great grief I was then in, and going quickly after out of towne, prevented my being so inquisitive as I should have been after the person of this Scotch gentleman, and into other things. You will not wonder that, after soe long a distance of time, I cannot give a more particular account of a thing which seems soe very extraordinary. But I have kept you too long upon soe imperfect a subject, and will conclude with assuring you that I am, with great esteem,

Sir, your most affectionate and humble Servant,

CLARENDON.

C. orig.] *Dr Wallis to S. Pepys.*

Oxford, October 24, 1699.

Sir—In a letter of your's to Dr Charlett, I find you are pleased to speak kindly of me; and particularly of what account I have given of the eclipse lately seen at Oxford, which, by reason of a great mist, could not be seen at London. What account that was I have now forgot, as I quickly shall what I now write; and because you were desirous to see it, I send now a scheme of that observation. It is intended for the Philosophical Transactions, but how soon it will be there inserted I know not; and do, therefore, in the mean time, send you the copy which Dr Gregory was pleased to give me. My daughter Blencowe, who, with the Judge,[1] her husband, made me a visit in their passage to London, tells me, that, knowing nothing of the eclipse before, but being then writing a letter about 9 o'clock, finding the light of the sun look somewhat dim, she looked out to see what the matter was, and found it to be an eclipse. I asked her how the light appeared to her: the best account she could give of

[1] Sir John Blencowe, Knight, made in 1697 one of the Justices of the Common Pleas.

it was, much like that in the evening a little before sunset. And I believe it to be a good account, and much as it appeared to us at Oxford; and more than that I know not why any body should expect.

Of your queries to M^r^ Hudson, I doubt he will be able to give you but a small account from old historians; I doubt scarce any better than that of Acts xxvii. I can partly guess, from a little experience I once had, in a short voyage, if I may so call it, from Stangate Hole to Westminster Bridge.[1] I had one Sunday preached for M^r^ Gataker, at Redriff, and lodged there that night. Next morning I walked with him over the fields to Lambeth, meaning there to cross the Thames to Westminster. He showed me in the passage diverse remains of the old channel, which had heretofore been made from Redriff to Lambeth, for diverting the Thames whilst London Bridge was building, all in a straight line or near it, but with great intervals, which had been long since filled up: those remains, which then appeared very visible, are, I suspect, all or most of them filled up before this time, for it is more than fifty years ago, and people in those marshes would be more fond of so much meadow grounds, than to let those lakes remain unfilled; and he told me of many other such remains which had been within his memory, but were then filled up: but thus much by the way.

When we came to Stangate Hole, over against Westminster Bridge, we took a boat, in a thick mist, intending for Westminster Bridge just across the water. When we had been at sea, for so I must call it, three times as long as would have been sufficient for the voyage, we made land, and discovered a shore with flags and reeds, and found ourselves within a bow-shot of the place from whence we first launched. We then put to sea again, and when we had a second time spent about as much time, we met another vessel just a-head of us: we hailed the boat and asked whither they were bound? they said to West-

[1] The landing-place leading from the Thames to New Palace Yard, still used by the Lord Mayors, on their way to be sworn into office at the Exchequer, was styled in the old maps "Westminster Bridge."—*Smith's Antiq. of Westminster.* There had been a plan for building a bridge across the Thames near this place, in 1664, which is thus noticed in the Correspondence of the French Embassador with Louis XIV. "Sur ce qui avoit été proposè, de faire un pont devant *Withall* pour passer du cotè de *Faxall*, la Ville s'y est opposè par des vives remonstrances; et le Roy a declarè que de son vivant il n'y consentirait, ce qui a extrèmement satisfait les bateliers, qui sont un corps fort considerable dans cette Ville."

minster, in a course directly opposite to ours; and found upon discourse that they were going directly to London Bridge, and were as low as Whitehall, or further. I expostulated with our boatmen how it was possible they could so mistake, and thought they might at least know whether they rowed with or against tide: they told me, though if they were at anchor they could tell which way the stream ran, yet, being in motion, they could only know what strokes they made with their oars, but knew not what way they made at each stroke, unless they could see the shore; nor was there any wind stirring, whereby to direct their course. I told them, if they could now set their steerage right, I would be their steersman, to hold on the same course. It was now in winter; and in such cases, though little wind stirring, we might discern the motion of our own breath, and by observing this I could see when we varied from the course designed, and accordingly directed them to row more to the right or left hand, as there was occasion: and by this steerage we came within the noise of the people at Westminster Bridge, and then made up to them.

Now, if we had then been wandering for half an hour or more, in so short a passage as just across the Thames, we may well conjecture at what a pass those must be who, in the wide sea, without sight of land, had no help from sun, moon, or stars, to direct their course, when as yet the magnetic helps were not known. They must then be obliged to keep within sight of land, and *littora legere*, without pulling out to sea, unless in fair weather, when the sun or stars might guide them; and if by chance they were surprised at sea in dark weather, they must be perfectly at a loss, having little else to help them, excepting soundings, or remembering from what point the wind blew when the darkness began, guessing that it might continue to blow from the same quarter. What better information M^r^ Hudson may get you from ancient circumnavigations, I leave to him; and, having begged your pardon for the impertinences of a tedious letter, remain,

Sir, your very humble Servant,

JOHN WALLIS.

C. orig.] *J. Jackson to S. Pepys.*

Rome, Dec^r^ 25, 1699.

Hon^d^ Sir—'Tis with no small pleasure that I am at length come to date from this renowned city; nor will it,

I am persuaded, be an unwelcome circumstance to you. We made our entry here on Tuesday last, about 23 o'clock, and were soon after deafened with the jangling of all the bells of the town, which, for several days, morning and evening, had proclaimed the approach of the holy year. Our first visit was, as you may imagine, to S^t^ Peter's, to see the preparations for this great solemnity, where we found them busy in building the scaffolds about the *Porta Santa*, which is a lesser door on the right hand entering within the Portico. The Portico runs the whole length of the Facciata, and is about twice the breadth of that before Covent Garden Church: without it, nothing of the opening of the door could be seen, nor within it, much further than the middle door, which afforded but little space for scaffolds; part whereof was destined for the Queen of Poland and her suite, part for the Ambassadors, and part for the Ladies, Roman and Foreign; and a separate one, the most remote, for the gentlemen strangers, where not above 100, I am sure, could see well. The seats for the Cardinals and Bishops, &c., assisting were on the area, where, also, were a good number of persons of the first quality to be admitted. But, with all this, I entertained but very little hopes of seeing what I was come so far for, till encouraged by Father Mansfield, Doctor of the College of English Jesuits here, to whom I was recommended by my Lady Throgmorton and Sir D. Arthur, he having an interest with the 2 Prelates appointed for the placing of strangers; by which means, in short, and force of crowding, M^r^ Martin and I have had the good fortune to see all the minutest parts of this most solemn ceremony, the whole process of which falling within my notice was this:—

The morning, being yesterday the 24^th^, was ushered in with the jangling of bells I have mentioned; soldiers, like those of our Trained-Band, were placed in different quarters of the town, to prevent disorders, and chiefly in the Piazza of S^t^ Peter's, where were the Swiss Halberdiers, in red and yellow, and a troop of horse, in armour, drawn up. About 16 o'clock we got into our places, and about 23 began the procession from the Vatican, through the Corridore into the Piazza, and so into the Portico, drums beating, &c., all the while. First came the Choiristers and officiating Priests, with tapers in their hands, singing; then the Bishops; and, last of all, the Cardinals in their Pontificalibus; the Cardinal de Bouillon, appointed by the Pope to perform this office in his stead, by reason of his extreme

illness, closing the whole, and being distinguished from the rest by a mitre of rich gold stuff, the others being of white damask. After a short office, with some singing, neither of which could be well distinguished, the Cardinal advanced to the Holy Door, the guns of Castell S^t^ Angelo were discharged, and he knocked thrice with a silver hammer on a small cross of brass, fixed in the mortar of the door, pausing a few minutes between each stroke, whilst some words were repeated. Having given the last stroke, he retired a little, and down fell the door, which made no small dust, being of brick, plaistered on both sides, and kept together by a frame of wood round, and supported on the inside with props, which, being taken away, it fell into a case set to receive it, for its more ready removal; the Cardinals, &c., entering afterwards to sing vespers, and the people, by degrees, following in most astonishing crowds. There was a throne, with six palls, prepared for the Pope, of crimson velvet, close by the door; but, he not being there, no use was made of it. The scaffold was hung with tapestry and crimson damask, with stripes of golden galoon, as are also all the pilasters of S^t^ Peter's and some other of the Churches in the city.

In the mean time, others of the Cardinals, &c., in cavalcade, went to the Campidoglio, and there divided, to go to the other churches, to open each of their Holy Gates also; but of this I saw nothing. The chief English here were my Lord Exeter and Lady, Lord Mounthermer, M^r^ Cecil, M^r^ Bruce, &c., my Lady Salisbury being prevented by the small-pox breaking out that very morning, of which she is said to be dangerously ill. I afterwards saw the Cardinal's supper in the Vatican Palace, which, both for form and substance, was very singular; and from hence went to the midnight devotions at S^t^ Lorenzo, where I heard most ravishing music suited to the occasion; Paluccio, an admired young performer, singing, and Corelli, the famous violin, playing, in concert with above 30 more, all at the charge of Cardinal Ottoboni, who assisted. The crowd still continues at S^t^. Peter's so great, with pilgrims going in at the Holy Gate upon their knees, that I have not yet been able to make my way through it; but I have got a piece of the ruins of it, which will serve, in the mean time, to support my devotion. 'Tis very uncertain what the Pope's condition is at present: at the time of the ceremony yesterday, we overheard some of the English Jesuits telling others, as a secret, that he certainly died the day before, about 23 o'clock, but

I much doubt the truth of it: he is, at least, extremely ill, and could not do a greater service to strangers than to drop off at this juncture, to complete the show by a *Sede Vacante*, to which, some say, a canonization would be added this holy year.

I must beg you to be assured of my husbanding both my time and expence.

Your most dutiful Nephew,

J. JACKSON.

C. orig.] *Extracts of Letters from S. Pepys to J. Jackson.*

London, Jan^{y} 22, 1699–1700.

Your friends are all well here, myself in particular. I was lately very much surprised with a visit from my cousin, Roger Gale, upon an unexpected call home, post from Paris, from his father, without the least intimation of the ground of it, nor direction, since his coming, what he is next to do, to the no little discomposure, I discern, of his son, which I am greatly sorry for. I find the gentlemen of both Universitys equally amused upon our friend D^{r} Bently's promotion to Trinity College Mastership; and, of them, few more so than our friend at York.[1] I have nothing to add, but to recommend it to you not to forget a copy, if to be got, or at least an accurate perusal, of Henry VIII.'s letters, to enable you to rectify the mistakes, or clear the doubts, which I hope you will remember occurred to us upon reading copies thereof. S. P.

London, Jan^{y} 29, 1699–1700.

I am extremely glad of the aid you have from Father Mansfield, in the business of books, &c., and leave it to you to secure the 2 vols. you speak of relating to St. Peter's, as you shall judge of them upon seeing them; and, if there be any print in sculpture, I mean, relating to any of the ceremonies of the present Jubilee, or any former Ecclesiastic Shows or views of St. Peter's, or ought else that is curious, beyond what you know I am already master of, I leave it to you to buy for me. S. P.

Feb^{ry} 5, 1699–1700.

I am apt to believe Bishop Ellis[2] would recollect who I am, were my name mentioned to him, and probably be

[1] D^{r} Gale.

[2] He was a Roman Catholic prelate.

inclined to show respect to you, we having heretofore, though now a great while since, met where we have been very friendly together treated, at poor Mr Pierce's, the King's Sergeant Surgeon, long since dead, and his family dispersed. I am greatly satisfied with what you have done about my Copy Book, and your other commissions: for the closeness of your present application to the studies you have set yourself, you may be sure of my being fully pleased therewith, and wishing good speed to your plough,

Adieu! S. P.

Febry 8, 1699–1700.

As to prints, I would be glad of a few, but those very good ones only, of any thing like Public Processions, Cavalcades, Canonizations, or any other solemnities extraordinary, relative to the Church Antiquities, or Town of Rome; not books of sets, for of those you know I have great plenty. Captain Hatton, who was my guest to-day, and your kind remembrancer, tells me of a book of Graveings finely done, printed at Rome, as he thinks, about 60 years ago, of all the alphabets of the several languages in which there are any books extant in the Vatican Library; the same being taken from the paintings or drawings thereof inscribed upon the several columns in the same library: of which book it would greatly sort with my Collection that I had a copy. I long to hear of Father Mansfield's two volumes of St. Peter's. S. P.

C. orig.] *S. Pepys to John Jackson.*

York Buildings, April 8, 1700.

Nephew—Believing that, after so long silence as this, since my last to you of the 11th of March, it would be of no less satisfaction to you, than, I bless God! it is to me, to be able to give you, under my own hand, the occasion of that silence, and this welcome account of its removal; nevertheless, I have chosen to make use of Mr Lorrains for what follows, which is to acquaint you, that it has been my calamity, for much the greatest part of this time, to have been kept bed-rid, under an evil so rarely known, as to have had it matter of universal surprise, and with little less general opinion of its dangerousness; namely, that the cicatrice of a wound occasioned upon my cutting for the stone, without hearing any thing of it in all this time, should, after more than 40 years perfect cure, all of a sudden, without any known occasion given for it, break

out again, and call for an operation for its cure, by requiring the wound that has been so long asleep to be anew laid open, and rehealed, which it has been; and, after that, a second time; but both successfully: I being, I thank God! once more on my legs; and, though my long lying in bed will cost me some time for the removal of my weakness, I am in no doubt of recovering. Though the pain and trouble occasioned by this evil have been very great, yet my Chirurgeon, M^r^ Charles Bernard, a man of fame in his profession, never expressing the least doubt of my cure, and not having in the whole time suffered one quarter of an hour's sickness of stomach or elsewhere, I have not thought it of any use to interrupt you, and the business you are upon, with any imperfect tydings thereof, till now that I can report it to you as a thing past.

April 12, 1700.

I go on with my borrowed hand, to tell you that, I thank God! I not only continue, but improve in the recovery of my strength, which my necessary confinement, night and day, with my legs tied, in bed, had unavoidably sunk in a great degree, but without other prejudice to my general health. I am equally delighted with all I gather from your letters, relating to your health; your thoughtfulness all along in making the most of your time every where, for the answering every laudable end of your travels; the succinct account you give me of your employment and observations, your care of the commissions you stand charged with, and the memory you carry of the measure as well as the fruit of your expence. I pray God to continue you in his good keeping, so that, at the close of your voyage, you may find cause to thank yourself for the benefits which this your conduct may reasonably entitle you to!

You want, I see, some news; therefore let me be your postman, and tell you that the State has been for some time under no small convulsion in Parliament, where the Ministers have been, most of them, by turns roughly handled: as one instance, the King has been but two days addressed to from the Commons, that no person, principally aimed at the Dutch Lords, not born in his dominions, should be admitted to his Council, either in England or Ireland; and yesterday he prorogued the Parliament to the 25^th^ of next month, after having been contented to pass several Bills, which very few could persuade themselves he ever would have done, and particularly

a Bill of Resumption to the public of all the forfeited estates by the late rebellion in Ireland, which he had actually distributed to an invidious value among a small number of persons he favoured, such as my Lords Portland, Galloway, Romney, Athlone, &c., and in particular M^rs^ Villiers, to whose share the late King's private estate is fallen, valued at about £300,000, or £25,000 p^r^ an.

The old East India Company have, to the joy of all our nearest friends, obtained their great point against the new, by having got their Bill passed beyond all expectation, this Parliament confirming them in being a separate Corporation. I shall here add another Bill, by which the Parliament, upon what new provocations or considerations I know not, has proceeded to a greater degree of severity against our Roman Catholics than their predecessors have ever done, by condemning all of them, who, being bred up in that profession, do not publicly and solemnly renounce it, and take upon them the Protestant Religion, at or before the age of 18; to forfeit their whole inheritance, be it never so great, and transferring the right thereof, *ipso facto*, to the next a-kin; which, they say, do more than justify all the King of France does against his Protestant subjects. Another thing, indeed, there is, that looks somewhat a mitigation of our present laws, by repealing so much thereof as subjected to death every Romish Priest found among us, by condemning them now to perpetual imprisonment only; but this also that party take to be much worse than what they were before exposed to, because so seldom found, by the tenderness of our Juries, exacted from them. One thing more makes much talk here; the Duke of Norfolk having obtained at last, this Session, his desired divorce from his wife, now bare Lady Mary Mordaunt again, from being the first Duchess of England, with liberty to marry again elsewhere.

April 15, 1700.

What with my sickness, and absence for some time from town, for the air at Clapham, and the unknown additions your present purchasings will probably make in most, if not every head of my collection of prints now before me, I foresee they will not be in a condition of being finally put together before your return. S. P.

C. orig.] *Extracts of Letters from John Jackson to S. Pepys.*

Rome, April 24, 1700.

Hon^d^. Sir—We have had a particular audience of his

Holiness at Monte Cavallo, headed by the Rector of the Scotch College, who harangued him on our behalf. He was in a very small room, in an armed chair, behind a table, under which came his feet, but only his right toe just appearing under his robe, his slipper of crimson velvet, with a gold cross embroidered upon it, which we that would, kissed on our knees, and, in return, had indulgences granted ourselves and our friends for 1000 years. He was very pale, and seemed much spent, his head reclining a little, but his voice strong enough: he answered to our Father, "*Non meritiamo questo.*" The ceremony was soon over, and we returned, but not as we had entered, upon our knees, on which we also received his formal benediction. If next Saturday bring me nothing from you, I shall think my 15 days' journey to Venice above 100.

JOHN JACKSON.

C. orig.] Florence, July 20, 1700.

I was this morning with the famous Magliabechi[1] at the Palace, and am just now going to visit him at his own house. For figure and dress, he certainly never had his fellow: Sir Peter Pett was a very fop, compared with him.

J. J.

Extracts of Letters from S. Pepys to John Jackson.

Clapham, May 9, 1700.

I am mightily pleased with your having seen the Old Father,[2] and been partaker of an audience from him, before your coming away. I am, I thank God! greatly recovered, and in a fair road towards being perfectly so. Our Great Seal is put into the hands of the two Chief Justices and the Chief Baron, till the King has further deliberated touching the disposal thereof. Sir Peter Daniel, in this neighbourhood, is lately dead, and so, I am just now told, is Mr. Dryden, who will be buried in Chaucer's grave, and have his monument erected by Lord Dorset and Mr. Montagu.

Clapham, July 1, 1700.

I thank you for your welcome list of purchases; as they are many, so are they, in all appearance, well chosen: nor had I any reason to doubt their being so, you so well

[1] Antonio Magliabechi, librarian to Cosmo III. His slovenly habits are as well known as his extraordinary talents.

[2] The Pope.

knowing my *gusto*, and I your power of discerning. I apprehend, indeed, the amount of their cost, though I make no question of your care in that, too. I wish you had met with a greater number of frontispieces, and can only recommend the making up of them more, as also of religious prints, and, in particular, of Habits, in your passage through Spain and Portugal: or if there be any thing else in graveing singularly relating to those countries, whether as to their buildings, manners, or ought else, or their only Royal sport of *Juego de Toro*, pray do not let it escape you, nor what Copy-books you can meet with. I am, I bless God! restored to as perfect a degree of health as, at this time of day, I can ever expect, and it is a very good one. Let not my using another's hand put you to any doubtings about it, as arising purely from the general tenderness I am come to in overworking my eyes.

Clapham, August 1, 1700.

Dr. Hickes shall know your want of success in his errand, and the ground of it. I am not prodigal, you know, of news, but the surprising death of the Duke of Gloucester, being overheated with dancing on his birthday, is, for the consequences of it, not to be omitted. His distemper turned to the small-pox, which killed him in five days. Adieu!

Clapham, October 8, 1700.

I have had yours of the 24th September, from Marseilles, importing the ill effects of your improvident excess upon fruit, which alone was the occasion of all that has befallen the Earl of Exeter's[1] family, in the death, not only of himself and of one or two more of his train, but the endangering all the rest, my lady and her son, Mr. Cecil, having but hardly escaped. If this reaches you at Lisbon, I give you in charge to wait upon my Lady Tuke, one of the ladies attending my once Royal Mistress, our Queen Dowager, there, a lady for whom I bear great honour; nor, if she should offer you the honour of kissing the Queen's hand, would I have you to omit, if Lady Tuke thinks it proper, the presenting her Majesty, in most humble manner, with my profoundest duty, as becomes a most faithful subject. Let my Lady Tuke also know, that her and my good old friends, Mr. Evelyn and his lady, did me, within these ten days, the honour of coming over to me hither from Wootton, with their whole family of children,

[1] The Peerages mention the death of William Cecil, second Earl of Exeter, at Naples, not without suspicion of being poisoned.

children-in-law, and grand-children, and dined with me, when her Ladyship's health was not forgotten.

York Buildings, February 3, 1700–1.

This serves only to tell you that I am well, and all your friends here, and all full of expectations of you, which God grant a happy as well as a speedy issue to! There is a great and sudden fall of all our great Stocks; I mean, that of the Bank and both our East-India Company's; but it must take up more time to fit ourselves for declaring war, if that be the event of it, than will, I hope, be needful for your passage hither; and so, committing you to God's protection, I remain, yours, &c., S. P.

C. orig.] *John Evelyn to S. Pepys.*

Dover Street, May 10, 1700.

Sir—I do most heartily congratulate the improvement of your health, since your change of air; which acceptable news your servant brought us this morning, and returns to you with our prayers and wishes for the happy progress and full restitution of it. In the mean time, I take this opportunity of acquainting you that a worthy correspondent of mine, not unknown to you, M^r^ Nicholson, Archdeacon of Carlisle, being, it seems, about a work of which he has occasion to mention some affairs relating to the Scots, and, hearing that you are indisposed, writes thus to me:—"I am troubled to hear of Mr. Pepys's indisposition: I heartily wish his recovery, and the continuance of a restored health. When I was an attendant on M^r^. Sec^ry^ Williamson, above 20 years ago, I often waited on him at his house in Westminster; but I was then, as I still am, too inconsiderable to be remembered by him. Besides an account of the Author, if known, of his MS. Life of Mary Queen of Scots, I very much desire to know whether there be any valuable matters relating to the History of Scotland amongst Sir R. Maitland's Collections of Scottish Poems? I observe that, in the same volume with Balfour's Pratique, or Reports, as we call them, he has a MS. of the old Sea Laws of Scotland; I would beg to be informed, whether this last Treatise is the same with the *Leges Portuum*, which, though quoted by Sir John Skene under that Latin title, is written in the Scottish language, and is only a list of the customs of goods imported and exported. If I may, through your

kind intercession, have the favour of transcribing any thing to my purpose out of his library, I have a young kinsman, clerk to Mr Musgrave, of the Tower, who will wait on him to that purpose."

This, Sir, is Mr Archdeacon's request, which I should, indeed, have communicated to you when I was lately to kiss your hands, but so was I transported with seeing you in so hopeful and fair a way of recovery, as it quite put this and all other things out of my thoughts. I am now, God willing, going about the middle of next week for a summer's residence at Wotton, where I have enough to do with a decayed and ruinous dwelling, but where yet my friends, or at least their letters, will find me: and if I suspend my answer to Mr Nicholson till you are at perfect leisure to enable me what to write, without giving you the least disturbance, I am sure he will be highly satisfied.

JOHN EVELYN.

C. orig.] *Henry, second Earl of Clarendon to S. Pepys.*

July 1st, 1700.

Sir—Your's of the 24th past was doubly welcome, in bringing me the good news of the improvement of your health, which I am as much concerned in, and wish as well to, as any friend you have. You had not been thus long without my letters, but I thought they might be troublesome, not being able to fill them with any thing diverting; and I contented myself with enquiring after your health at your own house. Now my law affairs are a little over for the present, I intend very speedily to make you a visit. I am extremely obliged to your Nephew for remembering so small an affair as the lettice seeds, of which my wife is very proud. I hope your being thus long at Clapham, for I think you were never so long in the country before, since you knew the world, will make you relish the pleasure of a garden, which will be no burthen to your other perfections. As to your inquiry concerning the Second Sight, and of what happened to me in reference to my first wife upon that occasion, I will tell the story to yourself when I see you, and in the mean time to Dr Smith; and if either of you think it worth notice, I will put it into writing as exactly as I can. I suppose it will be no news to tell you of my Lord Shrewsbury's once more quitting his employment at Court, and that the Lord Chamberlain's place is conferred on my Lord Jersey. Who will be Secretary of State in his room

is not yet determined: my Lord Lexington and M^r^ Hill, of the Treasury, are both spoken of; but it is said that office will not be filled till the King returns from Holland, so that M^r^ Secretary Vernon will be sole Secretary for some time; and some are of opinion that, after the King returns, M^r^ Blathwayt may be the man: but all this is only imagination; perhaps, after all, this office may be disposed of before the King goes. My Lord Rumney you see now possessed of three great places, which, in your time and mine, were thought sufficient stations for three considerable men: but, according to the old Proverb, Kissing goes by favour. It can be no secret to you, that the proposals for farming the Revenue of Excise are all rejected, and that branch put under the management of a new Commission, in which there are some very able men; and your neighbour, M^r^ Tollett, I am told, is Secretary to that Commission, which I am very glad of, for he is both an honest and very able man. I think this letter is become as tedious as my visits used to be, and therefore I will conclude, with assuring you that I am, with all possible esteem, Sir,

Your most affectionate and very humble Servant,

CLARENDON.

C. orig.] *John Evelyn to S. Pepys.*

Wotton, July 22, 1700.

I could no longer suffer this old servant of mine to pass and repass so near Clapham without a particular account of your health and all your happy family. You will now enquire what do I here? Why, as the Patriarchs of old, I pass the day in the fields, among horses and oxen, sheep, cows, bulls, and sows, *et cetera pecora campi.* We have, thank God! finished our hay harvest prosperously. I am looking after my hinds, providing carriage and tackle against reaping time and sowing. What shall I say more? *Venio ad voluptates agricolarum*, which Cicero, you know, reckons amongst the most becoming diversions of old age; and so I render it. This without:—now within doors, never was any matron more busy than my wife, disposing of our plain country furniture for a naked old extravagant house, suitable to our employments. She has a dairy, and distaffs, for *lac*, *linum*, *et lanam*, and is become a very Sabine. But can you thus hold out? will my friend say: is philosophy, Gresham College, and the example of M^r^ Pepys, and agreeable conversation of

York Buildings, quite forgotten and abandoned? No, no! *Naturam expellas furcâ licet.* Know I have been ranging of no fewer than 30 large cases of books, destined for a competent standing library, during 4 or 5 days, wholly destitute of my young coadjutor, who, upon some pretence of being much engaged in the Mathematics, and desiring he may continue his course at Oxford till the beginning of August, I have wholly left it to him. You will now suspect something by this disordered hand; and truly I was too happy in these little domestic affairs, when, on the sudden, as I was about my books in the library, I found myself sorely attacked with a shivering, followed by a feverish disposition, and a strangury, so as to have kept, not my chamber only, but my bed, till very lately, and with just so much strength as to scribble these lines to you. For the rest, I give God thanks for this gracious warning, my great age calling upon me *sarcinam componere*, every day expecting it, who have still enjoyed a wonderful course of bodily health for 40 years. And now to give you some further account of your favourite, I will make you part of what he wrote from Oxon., though it come somewhat late, as to what he acquaints me of the most unhappy catastrophe of that excellent poet and philosopher, M^r^ Creech.

June 17.

"Quod de Comitiis Oxon. in penultimâ scribis epistolâ, dubiam ante opinionem negativa Convocationis suffragia jam confirmarunt. Inexpectatum prorsus, et triste quiddam nuper hic evenit. Clarissimus ille Creech, Coll. Omnium Animarum Socius, sibi ipsi mortem conscivit. Cum enim paucis abfuisset diebus, suspensus tandem repertus est, quibus autem de causis hoc in se commisit nondum liquet. Jam ut de studiis Academicis aliquid dicam, Varenii Geographiam Universalem eo sub nomine physicæ considerationis multa complectentem, tutor legit, et quotidie in physicas questiones disputamus. In Mathem. Geometriam practicam percurri, quod eo diutius detinuit quod undecimum et duodecimum Euclidis librum non prius didiceram. Optica proximè discenda venit, et reliqua ad visionem pertinentia. Mathematicum nuper erat certamen in nostro Collegio, Doctore Gregory, Professore Judice, et viginti solidis sex præstantissimis præmio proposito, unum mihi adjudicatum est, quod in librum Mathemat. pro Bibliothecâ donandum impendere statui ne præmii magis gratiâ quam ut progressum ostenderem, certasse videar. Vale!"

And, with much ado, I have held out thus far. Your prayers I need not beg, you are so charitable. I beseech you to bear with the blots and impertinence of this, from

Your most faithfully devoted Servant,

J. EVELYN.

C.] *S. Pepys to John Evelyn.*

Clapham, August 7, 1700.

I have no herds to mind, nor will my Doctor allow me any books here. What, then, will you say, too, are you doing? Why, truly, nothing that will bear naming, and yet I am not, I think, idle; for who can, that has so much of past and to come to think on, as I have? And thinking, I take it, is working, though many forms beneath what my Lady and you are doing. But pray remember what o'clock it is with you and me; and be not now, by over-stirring, too bold with your present complaint, any more than I dare be with mine, which, too, has been no less kind in giving me my warning, than the other to you, and to neither of us, I hope, and, through God's mercy, dare say, either unlooked for or unwelcome. I wish, nevertheless, that I were able to administer any thing towards the lengthening that precious rest of life which God has thus long blessed you, and, in you, mankind, with; but I have always been too little regardful of my own health, to be a prescriber to others. I cannot give myself the scope I otherwise should in talking now to you at this distance, on account of the care extraordinary I am now under from Mrs. Skinner's being suddenly fallen very ill; but ere long I may possibly venture at entertaining you with something from my young man in exchange—I don't say in payment, for the pleasure you gratify me with from yours, whom I pray God to bless with continuing but what he is! and I'll ask no more for him. S. P.

C. orig.] *Dr. Charlett to S. Pepys.*

Southampton Street, Sept. 9, 1700.

Honoured Sir—I am now preparing to leave London, with as much appetite to see M^r^ Pepys and ask him several questions, as if I had never seen him at all. The inclosed[1] is a challenge to meet half way, and I wish I could bring him quite hither to see you, as I know he much desires.

[1] Probably addressed to Dr. Wallis.

As to the picture you so often mention, and this letter takes notice of, it is possible the person whom you design for the painter may, *once in a quarter* of a long vacation, have leisure and inclination to visit Oxford, especially on so public an occasion, that would redound much to his honor and fame, and take up so little time. I am going to meet Dr Radcliff in the City at dinner at Mr Hartwell's, being first to visit the East India rarities, where we shall be sure to remember you.

The Duke of Bedford died on Saturday night, having been in his garden that morning. Dr Radcliff was prevailed with to visit him: when he came, a vomit was prepared for the Duke; the Dr said, he *knew what would kill him, but not what would save him*, so the vomit was hindered. The Dr advised blisters, as the only expedient to prolong his life a few days; but that being neglected, the hydropic humours, as the Dr foretold, upon the first return on his vitals of the stomach, or head, killed him in a moment. I am, &c.,

A. CHARLETT.

C.] *S. Pepys to Captain Hatton.*

Clapham, September 19, 1700.

Honoured Sir—I have been making several country excursions, such as to Windsor, Hampton Court, Epsom, Richmond, and Streatham Wells, with other places in our neighbourhood, to the preventing me in the more timely return I ought otherwise to have made for the favour of yours of the 31st of the last month. It is a mighty pleasure to me, that my Nephew has, in any measure, done what his Uncle would be glad to do in any commission you should honour him with. I heartily condole your long uneasiness and confinement, but with the reserve of no less satisfaction in the success you give me hopes of your receiving from the care and knowledge of our learned friends, Doctor Sloane[1] and Mr. Bernard, which I pray God perfect. Your most obedient Servant, S. P.

C. orig.] *A. Charlett to S. Pepys.*

Univ. Coll. Oxon., October 6, 1700.

Most Honoured Sir—I received your most obliging letter at Soundesse, a great Manor of John Wallis, Esqre,

[1] Sir Hans Sloane.

in the woods next Nettlebed; and communicating the contents to him, he said, that for the further encouragement of Sir Godfry Kneller, he would be willing to be at the charges of having his father's, his own, his son, and two daughters, viz., five heads in one piece, as the Dean of Christ Church should direct. I am just now informed that Sir Godfry Kneller has drawn our Chancellor, the Duke of Ormond, at full length, which the Duke has some thoughts of bringing down himself; and it is very probable Sir Godfry may come with His Grace, he having done so only for his pleasure twice or thrice within these three years. I must also add, that D^r^ Wallis was a little out of order last night, though I fear we shall have much ado to hinder him this morning from Church, the Earl of Rochester being also to be there, to whom I then read your most obliging inclinations. He seemed, to say the truth, very fond and pleased with the thoughts of having his picture presented to the University by your hands; M^r^ Pepys and the late Lord Charles Somerset being the two persons most in his honor and estimation. I will not be positive, but am apt to believe that Sir Godfry Kneller may have more business, if he pleases; and the last time he was with me he seemed desirous to have some of his Art visible in the Gallery. He is Doctor of Laws with us. It is possible a decent application to D^r^ Radcliff might persuade him to give the picture of King Alfred, the founder of his old College, D^r^ Aldrich having long since designed a head for him. I am very much in arrears to you for a thousand civilities, which I have time only now to acknowledge to be due from,

Sir, your obedient Servant, A. CHARLETT.

A book of verses is ordered for you.
My very humble service to M^r^ Hewer.

C. orig.] *Paul Lorrain*[1] *to S. Pepys.*

York Buildings,
Saturday Night, October 12, 1700.

May it please your Honour—Though no other motive than the favour of your Honour's immediate commands to me, which I received in your letter of yesterday, did

[1] Paul Lorrain, employed at this time in copying MSS. for Pepys, and making Catalogues of his Books and Prints, had dedicated to him a translation of Mauret's Funeral Rites, published in 1682. He also wrote several Tracts and Sermons, and is stated in Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica* to have been Ordinary of Newgate.

engage me to write, yet I could not, nor think I should, forbear writing, as with leave I now do, in humble acknowledgment of the honour thus conferred upon me; but when I perceive therein some performances of mine to come short of your expectations, I find myself under a double obligation—to endeavour the giving your Honour satisfaction, and a just account of myself in what concerns the service you are pleased to employ me in here; and this, that I may not presume upon giving you too much trouble, I shall thus do in few words.

Your Honour required to know how far I was advanced in the transcribing of the Appendix I am now at work upon, and I gave an answer accordingly. But I find, by your Honour's expecting a further progress, that you did not take notice that much time has been spent by me in perusing, improving, and preparing for a fair transcription not only the several chapters of this Appendix already written, but those that yet remain unwritten fair; among which that also of *Tailles Douces* has been under my consideration and adjustment, though it has taken up the least of my time, because I meant no great alteration or variation in it. But many of the others have cost me much application and labour; as I doubt not but when the work is once finished, and comes under your Honour's examination, you will find it to be so: and that, laying aside the late avocations occasioned by the repairing of your house here, no time has been, as your Honour may rest assured none shall willingly be, lost in your service by me; who, with profound respect, beg leave to subscribe myself,

May it please your Honour, your Honour's most
Humble and most obed[t] Serv, and daily Orator,

PAUL LORRAIN.

A bookseller, one M[r] Freeman, over against the Temple Gate in Fleet Street, tells me he can at any time procure, either bound or in quires, the book newly published in relation to the late Earl of Clarendon.

C. orig.] *The Dean of York (D[r] Gale) to S. Pepys.*

York, Dec[r] 9, 1700.

My dear Friend—I have yours of the 11[th] of November, together with a book: for both which I give my hearty thanks. The book was sent me by the very learned

Huetius, Bishop of Auranches; it is his Dissertations on the Terrestrial Paradise, and the Navigations of Solomon. He left it with my old friend Mabillon, and he transmitted it. To him I shall shortly write.

Sure I am, that no friend of mine less approves my stay at York than I do. *Damno mea vota.* But such is the folly of mankind: we often desire what shortly we dislike. I am here less able to correspond or study than I was at St. Paul's. But enough of complaints, which none will pity. I am glad that your health, in that sweet recess, is bettered; God prolong it! and grant that I may be so happy as to kiss your hand next Spring. My son Sam (apprentice at the Naked Boy at St. Paul's Churchyard) often calls at my house, to inform me of your welfare. I hope my Cousin Jackson is returned safe. I pray you recommend my best services to M^r^ Hewer, M^rs^ Skinner, and all friends.

I am, dear Sir, your ever obliged Friend and humble Servant, THOMAS GALE.

C. orig.] *D^r^ Charlett to S. Pepys.*

Univ. Coll. Oxon., Feb^ry^ 18, 1700–1.

Hon^d^ Sir—I have been very long in debt to you for a most obliging letter, which I now only acknowledge, without pretending to payment, by the hands of my good friend M^r^ Tanner, who is now leaving us, being nominated by my Lord Bishop of Norwich Chancellor of his Diocese. Before this preferment was known, he had the satisfaction to see the respects of the University, by an offer made him from the best and most considerable part of the University, of the Office of Public Registrar, a place of great trust and credit, as M^r^ Hudson has the custody of the Bodleian Library upon the resignation of D^r^ Hyde.

I am sure this news will be acceptable to so great a lover of the public good, not only for your personal affection, but for the pleasure you take in seeing so generous and public a spirit prevailing here to postpone private interests in favour of eminent worth and abilities. M^r^ Tanner can best tell how very sensible I am of the numerous long train of civilities I receive from M^r^ Pepys, and with what respect and delight D^r^ Wallis, D^r^ Gregory, and several others unknown to you, acknowledge your patronage and affection to the Universities; which will be ever too hard for their enemies, as long as they can preserve their credit with such judges as yourself, though

herein I am sure you show more of the friend altogether, in pardoning the addresses of, Sir, your, &c.,

A^R^ CHARLETT.

C. orig.] *John Jackson to S. Pepys.*

Madrid, Feb^ry^ 24, 1700-1.

Hon^d^ Sir—Long looked for come at last. On Friday the 18th, about 4 in the afternoon, Felipe V^to^ made his entry here; not with much pomp, but a most surprising concourse of coaches and people. For several miles, I might say leagues, out of town, the road was so thronged, that his Ma^ty^ was scarce able to make his way through, having, according to the Spanish manner, no guards before his coach, but only Magistrates with their white wands. He designed to have mounted on horseback at some distance from the town, as was generally expected, but seeing the crowd and dust he had to encounter with, very prudently waved it, though to the disappointment of abundance that perhaps would have staid at home; and particularly the ladies, who were very numerous, and the richest in clothes and jewels I ever saw. As a sad proof of the multitudes I speak of, no less than 40 men, women, and children, were trod under foot and killed outright, and above 100 are now said to be languishing under their bruises, and dying daily. Diverse of the dead I saw, myself, lying heads and tails in a little neighbouring Chapel, where they were put till known and carried away: among the rest were a Friar and a Priest. I believe the like accident has not been heard of, nor would it cost so many lives to take the very town of Madrid.

The occasion is somewhat differently told, but the most received account is this: That the officers of the Customs, suspecting the people to take advantage of this confusion for running of goods so soon as the King was entered, shut the gates upon them; and afterwards opening them again on a sudden, the foremost fell, and upon them the next, and so on, to the number I have mentioned at least, and were immediately smothered without redress. Certain it is, that the mob had this notion of it; for the same evening they came and plundered the Guards' Lodge, burnt all their Registers before their door, and then set fire to the house itself; but it went no further than the smoking the walls a little, and damaging a window. The next morning, also, they assembled again, and we were

apprehensive of the consequences, but by noon they drew quietly off without doing more: and now, for their satisfaction, I am told the *Guardas* have been put in prison, and the King has granted pensions to those poor families who suffered by this disaster. His Ma^ty^ went directly to the Atocha[1] to sing *Te Deum*, and thence to his Palace of the Retiro, where in the evening he was entertained with fireworks, prepared in the outermost court for the occasion, and performed at least as well as ours upon the Peace. The rockets, and other smaller fires, were in abundance, and the principal part which concluded the whole, was an engagement between a Castle and 4 Men-of-War, which were contrived to move, and though they played their parts very well, were at last overcome. At the same time there were also illuminations quite through the town, and these continued 3 nights together.

Whoever has seen the Spaniards this day only, would have concluded them a very drunken people, having taken their cups very freely, and laid aside their gravity. They were generally pleased with the person of the King, at first sight; but, by putting on the *golilla*,[2] with his whole Court, on Sunday last, he has entirely won their hearts: he hunts and shoots every day, and by this means, and a free admission to his Court, is already become very well known to his people. What is to be excepted against in his entry is, their coming in no parade or order: His Ma^ty^ in a filthy old coach of the late King's, without guards; his better sort of attendants, some on horseback, and some in coaches, at half-an-hour's distance from one another; and diverse of the inferior sort attending the baggage, in so very ragged clothes as exposed them extremely to the scorn of the Spaniards. But this, indeed, was not the entry we have all along talked of; that will not be till after Lent, and some say till May, for which triumphal arches are preparing, and bulls feeding, with other things, which our friends would make us believe are worth staying for; but I cannot—at least, if you should think them so, might return from Lisbon in time enough to see them. I had been gone from hence ere this, had my companion used the same diligence with myself, and I fear it will be Sunday before we set out for Seville. The change of Ministers here I shall not trouble you with, you not being acquainted with the names on either side. The

[1] A Dominican monastery at Madrid.

[2] A little band, worn in Spain, sticking out under the chin like a ruff.—*Pineda's Spanish Dictionary*.

Cardinal is the Do-all. The Spaniards expect war, and wait only for some notice of the countenance of our new Parliament, before they speak more plainly. I am, &c.,

J. JACKSON.

C. orig.] *Dr. Wallis to S. Pepys.*

Oxford, Sept. 24, 1701.

Sir—You have been pleased to put an honour upon me which I could not deserve, nor did expect—to send so worthy an artist as Sir Godfrey Kneller, from London to Oxford, to take my picture at length, and put the charge of it to your own account; I wish it may be to your content. It had been more agreeable to my circumstances, if you had commanded my attendance to wait on you at London; which I should have readily obeyed, if my age would permit it. Till I was past fourscore years of age, I could pretty well bear up under the weight of these years; but, since that time, it hath been too late to dissemble my being an old man. My sight, my hearing, my strength, are not as they were wont to be. Then I have no cause to complain of God's providence, through whose goodness I do yet enjoy as much of ease and health as I can reasonably expect at these years; and, though you, and some other friends, are pleased to think me not quite unserviceable, yet I must not so far flatter myself as not to think but that it doth better become me to conceal the infirmities of age, than to expose them. I have endeavoured to express to Sir Godfrey the sense I have of your undeserved favour, by treating him with the respect due to a person of his quality: and, if I have been therein defective, I desire it may be imputed to the absence of my daughter, who is my housekeeper, but chanced to be now out of town; whereby, I was obliged to depend on servants. I know not what to return for your great kindness, but the humble thanks of,

Sir, Yours, &c.,

JOHN WALLIS.

C.] *S. Pepys to John Evelyn.*

Clapham, Dec. 4, 1701.

Dearest Sir—Dover Street at the top, and J. Evelyn at the bottom, had alone been a sight equal in the pleasure of it, to all I have had before me in my two or three months' by-work of sorting and binding together my Nephew's Roman marketings; and yet I dare predict,

that even you will not think two hours thrown away in overlooking them, whenever a kindlier season shall justify my inviting you to it. What shall I say to the glorious matter contained in your last? Why, truly, it looks like a seraphic salutation from one already entered into the regions you talk of, and who has sent me this for a *viaticum* towards my speeding thither after him; which, as the world now is, and you have so justly described, bereft as I now am of the very uppermost of my wonted felicities here, in your conversation, and that of a very few virtuous friends, I should in very good faith rather obey you in by leading, than staying to follow you. I am, for public good's sake, as sorry as you for your friend's withdrawing,[1] wishing only that I could as easily satisfy myself how he ever came in, as why he now goes out. I fully agree with your excellent Grandson, in his thinking it no longer worth while staying at Oxford. I should not fear the hazard of sending him abroad for four or five months, through Holland and Flanders to Paris—a tour that I, by your instructions, when time was, and with my wife, dispatched in two, to a degree of satisfaction and usefulness that has stuck to me through the whole of my life since. Though my Nephew Jackson be hardly yet at home after near a two-years' tour, I shall struggle hard to give him leisure, next summer, to finish his travels in Holland, for the sake of many particularities to be seen there at this juncture, never to be met with together in any age past; a sight, in one word, that I should hardly think too late even for myself to covet, had I you to wait on thither; for I am, in spite of this distance, with inseparable respect,

My ever honoured Mr. Evelyn,
Your most affectionately faithful
and obedient Servant, S. P.

C orig.] *Sir Godfrey Kneller to S. Pepys.*

March 24, 1701–2.

Sir—I sent a letter written by D^r^ Wallis, when I came from Oxford, in which, I suppose, he acknowledged your favour for him; and I did acquaint you then of what I had done, of which you approved in your letter to me, and were very much pleased and delighted with what I had done, by order from you, of D^r^ Charlett's message; which

[1] Lord Godolphin had just retired from the head of the Treasury.

letter of your's made me proceed and finish that picture: and I will send a copy of the letter to show at any time, if required, and hope I have done my part, believing Dr Charlett as a Divine, and knowing you an entire gentleman, of a noble and generous mind, or else I should hardly have left my home and business for Oxford's conversation-sake; and wish you had given me any one hint in your letter of disliking what I had then done, and I would have kept the face, as I only then had done, for myself, without putting any figure, as I have done all myself to it, or had any more loss of time, which I perceive, in your present letter, you wonder at, and shall leave it to what you think fit, of which nobody can be a judge like yourself. And I can show I never did a better picture, nor so good a one, in my life, which is the opinion of all as has seen it; and which I have done merely for the respect I have for your person, sense, and reputation, and for the love of so great a man as Dr Wallis, as you know, and besides being recommended by a message from you of Dr Charlett, a Head in Oxford: which, if all be rightly considered, I hope to have no blame on either account, but to be thanked, and allowed to own myself, Sir, Your obedient and faithful humble Servant,

G. KNELLER.

C.] *S. Pepys to Sir Godfrey Kneller.*

Clapham, March 24, 1701–2.

For God's sake, my old friend, look once more over my letter of yesterday, and tell me what one word there is in it that should occasion any one syllable of what my man brings me from you this morning in answer to it. I said, indeed, but without the least shadow of dissatisfaction, much less relating to you, that I was surprised at the manner of our learned friend's proceeding with me upon this picture: and I dare take upon me the prophesying, that so will you, too, when you come to know why; which I told you yesterday you should soon do, and had now done, had you been pleased but by two words to satisfy me in what your telling me of the picture's being very much expected at Oxford, led me to ask of you; as I therefore hereby again do: remaining, with the same thankfulness I first expressed to you upon Dr. Wallis's notice of your respect shown me on this occasion, Sir, Your truly obliged and most humble Servant,

S. PEPYS.

C. orig.] *Sir Godfrey Kneller to S. Pepys.*

March 25, 1702.

Sir—I ask your pardon for misapprehending; and, as to the picture being desired, I mean no more but that several from Oxford have only wished to see such a picture in their Gallery; where D^r^ Aldrich intends to get more, he hopes, and to make it fine, as you may imagine, with great and learned men — their pictures in full length: which is all I might have mentioned, for none of them are so ill bred for to press such a present from you, but expect your leisure, and so will I; for I know no one living knows better, nor can judge truer of manners, and what is truly civil, than yourself, on all occasions: and I hope you do believe none shall observe your command, nor be more sincere and real than I am, and ever must be, Sir,

Your obedient and most obliged humble Servant,

G. KNELLER.

C.] *S. Pepys to Sir Godfrey Kneller.*

Clapham, March 26, 1702.

Sir—I know not how better to become even with you for the kind satisfaction you have been at the trouble of giving me, than by trying to give you the like, in reference to my late sending you the same question twice, that could not but look impertinent enough on my part to have asked you once; and pray take it as follows.

I have long, with great pleasure, determined, and no less frequently declared it to my friend Dr. Charlett, upon providing, as far as I could by your hand, towards immortalizing the memory of the person, for his fame can never die, of that great man, and my most honoured friend Dr. Wallis, to be lodged as an humble present of mine, though a Cambridge man, to my dear Aunt, the University of Oxford. Towards this, I have been long consulting with Dr. Charlett, and not without hopes of getting this Rev. Gentleman once more up to town; and since, through his age, those hopes have sunk, I have flattered myself with others, namely, of being able, some time or other, in a Vacation, to prevail with my friend Sir Godfrey Kneller to make a little country excursion for me, and do it upon the place; with a design, indeed, of waiting on you myself thither. But so it has fallen out that, by an unexpected return of an old evil, the

Stone, I have been ever since under a continued incapacity, for these two years and more, of stirring out of doors, and at length was forced for life, as Dr. Charlett knows, to be brought hither, where I still am, and am likely to be; but with some hopes given me by Mr. Hewer, and some other of our friends, the last year, of seeing you here: and so this matter has stood, till Dr. Wallis, by your own hand, gave me from Oxford a very first word of my having, as he words it, sent you down thither, and of the work's being done. Now, as much satisfied as I must again and again own I am, with the extraordinary instance of respect I have received from you in it, I submit it to you to judge of the reasonableness or unreasonableness of my surprise, at the manner of my friend's proceeding with me therein, when I have told you, that Dr. Charlett did me the favour of a double visit here, about the month of August last, with promise of a third, and bringing Dr. Aldrich with him before his return to Oxford; which I greatly expected, in order to the considering of some way, under my present distance from town, how to supply it to you, in reference to this matter: instead of which, I have not only never heard one word of or from him to this day, but without the least mention either of your name or any thing at all of the picture, at either of his forementioned visits, you have been pleased to tell me, to my no small confusion, for I swear it still looks like a dream to me, of his message from me to you, and what you have been doing upon it; but pray take it along with you, that I say it is no unpleasing dream to me, but what I shall venture very hard, as soon as the weather shall favour it, to come by chair, and pay you my real thanks for. Remaining, your ever most affectionate and most humble Servant,

SAMUEL PEPYS.

C. orig.] *Dr. Smith*[1] *to S. Pepys.*

London, April 16, 1702.

Honoured Sir—Upon my return to London, on Sunday morning last, out of Huntingdonshire, where I had been

[1] Thomas Smith, S. T. P., a learned Writer and Divine, was born in London, 1638, and died there 1710. For a list of his numerous works, see *Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica.* He had published a Catalogue of the Cottonian MSS., and a Life of Sir Robert Cotton, which explains Pepys's application to him in behalf of Wanley, page 321, *ante.*

to perform the last office of my function, as well as of friendship, to the excellently good Lady Cotton, I met with the sorrowful news of the death of my learned friend, the Reverend D^r^ Gale; but I cannot yet learn the particulars of this his last and fatal sickness. I doubt not, but that his Sons will take all possible care of his papers, and especially of those which relate to the illustrating Camden's Britannia, which he has formerly shown me, and publish in convenient time, to the honour of their Father's memory, and to the advancing of learning; which, together with those learned books he himself published in his life-time, will render him more illustrious to posterity, than any monument, be it never so stately, for his quality and character, they can erect in York Minster.

About three weeks since, Sir R. Dutton was struck with the dead-palsy on his left side: he has recovered the motion, tho' not the use, of his hand and foot; and we hope that, upon settled, fair, and warm weather, he may be restored to his former vigour, if yet his great age, he being now upon the brink of complete fourscore, may be supposed to permit it.

The worser sort of Fanaticks, not to say the whole herd of them, begin to be dissatisfied with the new Queen, and pray for her conversion, as if she were of the religion of the King her father; and herein they are followed by the Scotch Presbyterians: and we have here others, too, of greater quality and interest, who are of no religion, and mere Republicans, apt enough to foment discontents and jealousys among the people; which, if not prevented, will render the Regal Government, for Monarchy admits of no difference or distinction of sex, very uneasy at home: and, without pretending to any insight into politics, but what common natural sagacity and foresight suggest to every considering man, it is presumed, that to obviate such ill designs, necessity of State, which is *Ratio ultima Regum*, requiring it, there will be a speedy alteration made among the Lord Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, Justices of Peace, and Magistrates of Corporations, throughout all England. But this will depend upon the conduct of a wise Ministry, a regulated Council, well-chosen Officers, whether of Justice in Westminster Hall, or in the Army and Navy, and in other great places of trust: otherwise, we poor men, who are like to receive little or no benefit by the late change, cannot but fear, out of a principle of true love to our country, that some disorders and disturbances may be attempted, which may be of ill

consequence to the peace and happiness of it. These are our melancholy reflections; but the more sanguine men of the complying Clergy of this Church, who glory that they have got a daughter of King James the Second on the Throne, whom they promise to defend against the pretended Prince of Wales, as if this, setting aside the last consideration, would atone for their horrible defection for these last thirteen years, set before their eyes the glories and felicities of Queen Elizabeth's long reign, as if it were in all things to be the just and perfect model of the present. To bring others, who have hitherto preserved their faith and their principles entire and inviolate, into the same condemnation with themselves, they are propagating scandalous, lying, villainous stories, and reflections upon the honour, virtue, and innocence of King James and his Queen, in order to make several non-jurors believe that the Prince of Wales, the abjuring of whom is with them the great difficulty they cannot so easily and readily get over, is not their Son, but a counterfeit and mere supposititious child. And this is done especially by one of the Episcopal Order, who is outrageously, as after his demure way, to tell such as consult him that, *upon his salvation*, he believes the whole transaction of that affair to be mere juggle and imposture. But, when I shall acquaint you at large with the weakness and falseness of his pretended proofs and allegations, grounded on hearsay, and stories horribly perverted, not only against the truth of fact which was so notorious, and so well attested by persons of untainted and unquestionable honour and honesty, then present, but even almost against the very possibility of things, you will wonder how a man of his learning, great age, and gravity, can be so infatuated, as first to believe, and then, with such a semblance of piety and religion, labour to make others believe, such wicked and diabolical calumnies. But these things are better, and with greater satisfaction, discoursed of than written: and, therefore, I will defer the detail of them, till I wait upon you; which, neither my own impatience and inclination, nor my readiness to gratify M^r^ Cherry,[1] who is very ambitious of kissing your hands, will suffer me to defer too long. After the chagrin which the contents of this long, tedious letter may cast you into, I have, to divert you, and to restore you to your natural good humour, enclosed a paper, containing an Epitaph upon the late high and mighty Dutch Hero, as also some few heroic

[1] Francis Cherry, of Shottesbrook, Berks: ob. 1713.

lines upon *Sorrell*;[1] which, after a single reading, I presume you will throw into the fire.

Yours, &c., THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, I desire that my humble services may be given to my honoured friends, Madame Skinner and Mr Jackson. This being the first rude and hasty draught of my letter, you will be the more easily inclined to pardon the blottings and interlinings in it.

C. orig.] *Dr. Charlett to S. Pepys.*

University College, May 14, 1702.

Most Honoured Sir—By order of the Vice-Chancellor, I left a book of Verses for you at Mr Hatton's, being very sorry I had no time to present it with my own hands. I was also very sorry I could not see the picture of Dr Wallis, which is much commended: I hope, Sir, it has your approbation. The original being lately ill, will make the picture more valuable, and the Dr himself talks very fondly of it. I had many services from Dr Wallis and others to give you, but none more due or sincere than from, Sir, Yours, &c.,

A. CHARLETT.

C. orig.] *Sir Godfrey Kneller to S. Pepys.*

July 29, 1702.

Sir—I understand you have a frame a making for that picture, which I desire to see put on at my house, and all packed together in a case safe; for I intend to send my servant with it to Oxford, for to place it and look that no damage may appear; and I will, when you please, send the porters for to fetch it, and varnish it well before it goes, and finish all to the utmost of my skill. I believe Mrs Skinner's picture is in the house, locked up with others, by my Brother, as is gone away for a month or six weeks to the Bath: you desired that picture. Pray give my humble respects to Madam Skinner, and command, Sir,

Your faithful humble Servant,

G. KNELLER.

[1] *Sorrell* was the name of the horse that stumbled over a molehill, and occasioned King William's death. The Mole was *toasted* by the Jacobites as "the little gentleman in the velvet jacket."

C.] *S. Pepys to Henry, second Earl of Clarendon.*

Clapham, August 4, 1702.

My Noble Lord—I am still forced, much against my will, to make use of my man's legs on all errands, and particularly on this to your Lordship, to know where you are this uneasy season, and inquire after your health. My Lord, I am but this morning come from the third reading of your noble Father, my Lord Chancellor Clarendon's History, with the same appetite, I assure you, to a fourth, that ever I had to the first; it being most plain that that great story neither had, nor could ever have been, told as it ought to be, but by the hand and spirit that has now done it, or I hope soon will; and that your Lordship, and my honoured Lord your brother,[1] will not suffer the press to slacken in the dispatch of the remainder, and therewith in the eternizing the honour of your name and family, the delivering your country from the otherwise endless consequences of that its depraved loyalty, which nothing but this can cure; and your putting together such a lecture of government for an English Prince, as you may yet live to be thanked, and to thank God, for.

Your Lordship's most obedient Servant, S. P.

C. orig.] *D^r Charlett to S. Pepys.*

London, August 22, 1702.

Most Honoured Sir—I was in hopes to have dined with you yesterday at Clapham, but the Queen went so late to prayers, I had not time enough, and must now make haste to return to the same station at Windsor, having obtained a few hours of liberty during her stay last night at Kensington.

I sent yesterday morning to Sir Godfrey Kneller, who came to Court to draw her Majesty's picture for the Kingdom of Scotland, to know whether your picture of D^r Wallis was in the University Gallery. He sent me word it was in your possession; but M^r Horne having assured me, by your order, that it would be sent speedily, I am in hopes to find it there against the Queen's coming to Oxford, which will be on Wednesday next, she being also, notwithstanding her haste, pleased very graciously to receive a dinner on Thursday from the University. Your nephew, M^r Jackson, may command a bed in my house,

[1] Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester.

and the company of M^r Isted. I am, with all duty and regard, in great haste,

Your most obedient Servant, A. CHARLETT.

An Oxford waggon goes on Monday.

C. orig.] *D^r Hickes to S. Pepys.*

Oxford, September 1, 1702.

Honoured Sir—I have enquired here of D^r Hudson and M^r Vice-Chancellor, concerning the way you are to take of sending D^r Wallis's picture; and they have both told me, that, it being intended as a present to the University for their Gallery belonging to the Library, you must send it directed to M^r Vice-Chancellor. I presume you will think fit to send a letter with it, which will need no other direction than, "For M^r Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford." I doubt not but they will make you a very respectful return of thanks, as I am sure D^r Wallis ought to do, who I hear longs to see it in the Gallery. Be pleased to make my humble service to M^r Hewer, M^r Jackson, and Madam Skinner, and to accept the same from, Sir,

Your most obliged humble Servant,

GEORGE HICKES.

C. orig.] *D^r Charlett to S. Pepys.*

University College, September 3, 1702.

Most Honoured Sir—Having received some Northern Querys from Sir Robert Sibbald, transmitted to me by my Lord Bishop of Carlisle,[1] I had yesterday at dinner a set of Gothic Antiquarys, all your humble servants, viz., D^r Hickes, D^r Gregory, M^r Lloyd, M^r Thwaites, and M^r Elstob, to consider them. I could have wished M^r Jackson and M^r Wanley had been of the same number. Such a meeting could not fail of paying their respects and acknowledgments to the worth and favours of M^r Pepys, in all the circumstances, as to regard and esteem. It is now time to thank you for the pleasure of M^r Jackson's conversation, of which very little came to my share,—enough only to raise an appetite to more.

I protest I have been afraid to write to you, Sir, this twelvemonth, thinking it more proper for discourse than

[1] Dr. William Nicholson.

letter; for I can assure you I was equally ignorant and surprised at the conduct of Sir G. Kneller, when I understood, at my return from London, that Sir Godfrey had been at Oxford to draw the picture, having said no more to him than, in general words, that you wished such a thing. However, I am very glad it is so admirably done, tho' I doubt not, besides the point of good manners, your judgment might have added to the beauty of the contrivance. But the Painter's fancy was warm, and his imaginations not to be controuled, it seems, with delays. I was informed it was drawn in D^r^ Gregory's house, where both the Dean and he were present the whole time of action: but I have not had the pleasure of seeing it yet. I find D^r^ Hudson has provided a very proper place in the Gallery, next to Sir Harry Savil, the Founder of the Mathematic Lectures. By this or the next post, I shall send some Poetry to M^r^ Jackson, to whom, and M^r^ Hewer, my most humble service. Excuse all errors and defects in, Sir,

Your most sincerely obedient Servant,

A. CHARLETT.

C. orig.] *D^r^ Wallis to S. Pepys.*

Oxford, September 26, 1702.

Worthy Sir—If I had not been before acquainted with your generosity and innate goodness, I should have been at a loss to think what should move you to do me the honour, and put yourself to so great a charge on that account: but great men will do great things, and show great expressions of their kindness to those whom they are pleased to favour, a great deal beyond what they can pretend to merit. I did not see the persons who, by your order, did accompany the picture; otherwise I ought, by them, to have returned my thankful acknowledgement of the honour done me, in placing so noble a picture of me in so eminent a place. I trust Master Vice-Chancellor did, by them, return you the thanks of the University for that noble present; which I hope they will be careful long to preserve, as a lasting memorial of your munificence, and of the great skill of Sir Godfrey Kneller, which is highly commended, when I shall be forgotten. The great care you took that the University should not be suffered, on this occasion, to be at one penny charge, is a piece of civility so like yourself, that it will not be easy to find a precedent. My bare thanks, which I humbly tender, are

a thing so inconsiderable, that I should be ashamed to offer them, if I had ought else, worthy of you, to be presented from, Sir,

Your much obliged and very humble Servant,

JOHN WALLIS.

C. orig.] *Dr Charlett to S. Pepys.*

Lord Guilford's, at Wroxton, near Banbury, Sept. 26, 1702.

Most Honoured Sir—I had the honor of both your letters together, at my Lord Digby's, at Colsil,[1] having sent for my Oxford pacquet to Coventry, whither the carrier by appointment had brought them. It was a very sensible satisfaction to me, that the obscurity of Sir Godfrey Kneller's proceedings were unveiled, which to me were all shadow, and natural cause of umbrage. Your extraordinary care, and conduct, and judgment, and civility, in all the method and circumstances of placing it in the Bodleian Gallery, require a particular and distinct acknowledgment, and look like a Roman consecration of some of their ancient statues. I am sure it has made a very pleasing journey, and most obliging entertainments, and conversations of two very good Lords, less agreeable, by detaining me from the sight of your picture so long; and will, I am sure, hasten my return to Oxford. By Dr Radcliffe's prescription, I have been in a short course of riding, as the best remedy against a rheumatism, the relapse of which I must fence against. I intended, at first, only a fortnight's absence; but good weather, agreeable company, and no disaster with horses, is like to keep me out a little longer. I propose an hundred miles a week, which makes travel so easy, as to cross a sentence of Lord Burghley's, who, I suppose, was no traveller, often quoted by Dr Wallis, that *he seldom knew either man or horse the better for travel.* I have been through the Counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Stafford, and Warwick; Eclesal Castle, and Newport in Shropshire, were the two most remote northern points; a very small temptation would have carried me thence again to Chatsworth in the Peak, notwithstanding I had the year before made a particular progress thither; but as it was then too early to see the cascades and waterworks play, so I was apprehensive it might now be too late; but if Mr Isted had been with me, I should have adventured.

[1] Coleshill, in Warwickshire.

As I passed from Wolverhampton, good fortune, more than design, made me acquainted that I was near the scene of King Charles the Second's escape, which soon determined me to take a guide to those woods where I found at Boscobel House, some of the Pendrils remaining, that were present at that glorious transaction. It is no small offence and scandal to the neighbourhood, and, indeed, to the lovers of loyalty, fidelity, and integrity, to hear the complaints from these plain people, of their pensions being stopt in the last reign, which also will be no small rebuke to the late administrators. I remember King James, during whose reign the pensions were most exactly paid, viewed it in his progress, which gave you an opportunity of a nice view. The trunk of the Royal Oak is now enclosed within a round wall, with an inscription, which having no date, I cannot tell whether you have seen it; however, I have transcribed it for M^r^ Jackson.

The digging up of vast quantities of firs mentioned by our friend D^r^ Plot, in his History of Staffordshire, seems to me most strange and wonderful. In passing from Newport, by the great Mears of Fordon and Aquilat, belonging to the Skrymshires, I saw the country people digging them up for fuel: they lie 1—2—3 feet deep; some are very long and entire. Also very large oaks are dug up, which sometimes are serviceable for laths. If you ask the country people how long they think they have lain there, their answer is, Ever since Nyal's[1] Flood; which perhaps may be the best.

I am now going to see the latter end of Astrop Wells, being allowed here the liberty and privilege of Head Quarters, of making excursive visits, which puts an end to your present trouble, though not to my inclinations of being further troublesome, as soon as the Gallery shall come in sight of, most honoured Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

A. CHARLETT

It is said in these parts, with very little respect or concern, that the politic Baron of Wormleighton lies a-dying; whether with or without extreme unction, is a question in common with many others of the like nature.[2]

[1] *Sic orig.*

[2] Robert, Earl of Sunderland, Baron of Wormleighton, died Sept. 28, 1702, two days after the date of this letter.

C.] *S. Pepys to D^r Wallis.*

Clapham, Oct. 3rd, 1702.

Reverend Sir—What you call generosity would more truly bear the name of insolence; I mean, for a private man to take on him the doing that upon canvas, that, when time was, would have been long since made the business of the public, to have seen done in bronze or marble. So that what you thank me for, would indeed prove matter of mortification to any but you: though by the too kind reception I find it meets with from several of my friends about you, it seems to be otherwise thought of by them; namely, the Master, Dr. Hudson, Dr. Gregory, and more particularly by Mr. Vice-Chancellor, and what he bespeaks my further expecting from the University; while, at the same time, I cannot but think myself already overpaid, in the content you are pleased to own from it, and the honour I have secured to my own name by it, in the place it holds at the foot of Dr. Wallis; to whom I pray God grant many more happy days of painless health, and tranquillity of thoughts; remaining, Reverend Sir,

Your truly honoured and obedient Servant,

S. PEPYS.

C. orig.] *D^r Charlett to S. Pepys.*

Univ. Coll., October 19, 1702.

Sir—Friends and good luck did not permit me to return to Oxford, till after the termination of a new Vice-Chancellor, and the conclusion of a controversy with the City, which was on Thursday night. On Friday morning, I took D^r Lancaster with me to the Schools' Gallery, where he viewed the noble picture of D^r Wallis; and yesterday, he and D^r Shadwell doing me the honour of dining, D^r Wallis began your health, with that respect that becomes one so obliged to you. I have scarce had time to look over my letters and papers, but could not forego the using this kind hand, of assuring you of the obedience of, Sir, your very much obliged humble Servant,

A. CHARLETT.

I expect the commands of the University to write to you very speedily.

C. orig.] *D^r Charlett to S. Pepys.*

Univ. Coll., Oct^r 30, 1702.

Sir—Having the honor, in the Vice-Chancellor's absence on duty in Convocation, to supply his place, I am com-

manded by the University, assembled in full Convocation, to present M^r^ Pepys with their most sincere and affectionate thanks for his noble testimony of respect and affection to learning and this University, in the picture of one of their Professors, placed by him lately in their great Gallery of Pictures, among their founders, benefactors, and men of eminent worth and quality. Our Orator wished for more time to conceive, but our duty would not permit any delay in our thanks.[1] These commands I execute with great cheerfulness, and am not, in my own opinion, a little fortunate, to be intrusted with the honor of paying this duty from the University of Oxford, to a gentleman who has, on so many private accounts and singular favors, an entire right to all instances of obedience from his most humble and devoted Servant,

A. CHARLETT.

I thought I could not choose a more safe and acceptable hand for the delivery than that of our worthy and learned Professor of Astronomy, D^r^ Gregory, Colleague to D^r^ Wallis.

C. orig.] *S. Pepys to D^r^ Charlett.*

Clapham, Saturday, Nov^r^ 14, 1702.

Reverend Sir—My worthy Friend, your most worthy Professor, D^r^ Gregory, has in a most obliging manner possessed me of the University's inestimable present to me; and by it shown how prodigal that august Body can be of their own, upon the least appearance of respect offered towards it from another. Sir, I beg their believing me most sensible of this their over-payment, as deeming it greatly superior to all I have had to value myself by, since my first relish of what was honourable. I must, therefore, come back to you, through whose hand it has been conveyed to me, to learn how I am to proceed to the getting my thanks properly laid before them, that I may not appear too far in arrear in my acknowledgments to them, where they are got so far before me in their right to them. I would not be thought, neither, unmindful of the superlative performances of your Orator therein, whose every period seems to raise a new world of glory to me out of nothing, even to the putting me out of countenance to own it; and yet, not to be wholly silent on his regard, pray let it be told him how much he has me, though unknown, his humble Servant.

[1] See the Diploma in the Appendix.

In a word, the University has now made me their creature, and as such, shall never want the best effects of my veneration and duty, whenever their kindness and service shall call for them from me; nor must I have done till I have thoroughly acknowledged, as I hereby most thankfully do, the great part which I know I owe herein to the old partiality of my honoured friend D^r^ Charlett, and his conduct of this affair, so much to the lasting and little-merited honour of, Reverend Sir,

Your most obedient Servant, S. PEPYS.

C. orig.] *D^r^ Charlett to S. Pepys.*

Univ. Coll., Nov^r^ 22, 1702.

Most Honoured Sir—The value you are pleased to put on the respects of the University is very agreeable to your humanity, who treat all mankind with civility. I am sure the University intended to express their thanks with the greatest sincerity, and therefore declined all appearance of common forms, as Degrees, &c.; and she is very happy in being so well understood by you. I do not apprehend you have any thing further to do, unless you please, in a letter to the Vice-Chancellor, now at home, to acknowledge the receipt of the Diploma, desiring him to return your thanks to the Heads of Houses and Convocation. This, I presume, he will communicate to the Heads of Houses at their Hebdomidal Meeting, desiring them to signify the contents to their respective Societies. As to the Orator, it is his duty, at the Vice-Chancellor's command, to draw up all Addresses to the King and persons of quality; and I have communicated your respects to him.

At a weekly meeting, which by our Statutes is every Monday, consisting of the V. C., Heads of Colleges and Halls, and the two Proctors, I moved that we might have a special Act on the 3^d^ of December, being the public Thanksgiving day, in honor of our Chancellor, which was readily agreed to; and accordingly, our Poets, Musicians, and young Noblemen and Gentlemen, are very busy in preparing against that solemnity, which is like to be performed with great accuracy and decency in the Theatre, several Musicians coming from London, and public exercises in most private Colleges; so that we are like to be as solemn and as full as at a Public Act, the Lemmas whereof I shall present to you, as soon as

printed. I should be extremely glad to wait on any friend of yours then, as becomes, Honoured Sir,

Your most obedient Servant, A. CHARLETT.

D Wallis never brighter or more chearful.

C. orig.] *D^r Delaune (Vice-Chancellor of Oxford) to S. Pepys.*

S^t John's, Dec^r 5, 1702.

Sir—The favour of your most obliging and valuable present to the University you are pleased very much to add to, by the great value you put upon our but due acknowledgments for it. I am sorry my absence deprived me of the honour of being a greater sharer in the respect paid you: but, Sir, I beg you to believe, though my hand was not at it, my heart accompanied the Seal; and that nobody has a deeper sense of your great respect and kindness to this University than myself, or a greater honour for so true an ornament and encourager of learning as you have always bin; and that therefore I am, with the utmost sincerity, honoured Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant,

W. DELAUNE.

C. orig.] *Monsieur De Galenière to S. Pepys.*

Dublin, Jan^y 1, 1702–3.

Monsieur—Si j'étois à Londres, après avoir commencé la journée et le nouvel an par rendre mes hommages à Dieu, dans sa Maison, vous seriez la première visite que je ferois, et j'irois à Clapham vous assurer de mon éternel devoüement. Mais n'étant pas assez heureux pour le pouvoir faire, je me sers du commerce des lettres, qui, comme disoit un Ancien, "Sola res est quæ homines absentes presentes facit;" et ce que je ne puis dire, je vous l'écris, c'est qu'en tout temps je pense à vous, je prie Dieu pour vous, surtout dans ces jours solennels où l'on n'oublie pas les Bienfaiteurs, que je demande au Ciel votre conservation, votre prosperité, votre salut, avec autant d'ardeur que je le fais pour moi-même; y joignant votre cher Neveu, Madame Skynner, et notre ami par excellence, M^r Hewer. Le Siècle sera un heureux siècle pour moi tant que vous viverez, que vous vous porterez bien; mais la vie me seroit ennuyeuse, et je ne scay ce que deviendrois s'il en étoit autrement.

Ah! te meæ si partem animæ rapit
Maturior vis, quid moror altera
Nec carus æquè, nec superstes
Integer?

Mon bon Evesque m'a mandé la manière obligeante dont vous lui avez parlé de moi: il est encore en Angleterre. Plût à Dieu qu'on y connût tout son mérite, et qu'on lui fît Primat d'Irlande. On rendroit un bon office à l'Eglise, et au royaume, et on donneroit la place au plus digne. Ma femme vous assure de son très humble respect: il n'y en a point qui approche de celui avec lequel je suis,

Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant Serviteur,

DE GALENIERE.

C. orig.] *John Evelyn to S. Pepys.*

Jan^{y} 20, 1702–3, Dover Street.

My worthy Friend—I had not deferred so long either from waiting on you, or giving you an account of my impertinent life, since I had last the happiness to kiss your hands at your Paradisian Clapham, had my own health and several other uneasy circumstances since I came here, permitted me to repay the many kind friends their visits, for which I stand yet a debtor. In the first place, it did not a little grieve me, that, coming so near you, when I past almost by your door, it was so late, that with no small difficulty we got to Lambeth whilst it was tolerably light; and with more that, when we came to the water side, neither of the ferry-boats were there, or could be gotten to return till it was dark, very cold, and uncomfortable passing. Since I came to Dover Street I have scarcely enjoyed three or four days without incessant and pungent attacks, proceeding from gravel, disabling both my body and mind from some sort of activity, till now competently enjoyed, considering my great age.

I have yet at last gained so much relaxation, as to employ the very first opportunity of sending you this volant messenger, to let you know, in whatever place or state I am, you have a most faithful servant. I was continually out of order in the country last summer; yet with such intervals as did not altogether interrupt my taking some satisfaction in the improvement I had made, partly in the dwelling-house, and without doors, for conveniences suitable to our economy, without re-

proach among our neighbours, — my taste for things superfluous being extremely altered from what it was: every day called upon to be ready with my packet according to the advice of Epictetus, and a wiser Monitor, who is gone before to provide better places and more lasting habitations. In the mean while, one of the greatest consolations I am capable of, is the virtuous progress which my Grandson continues to make in an assiduous cultivation of the talents God has lent him. Having formerly seen his own country, as Bristol, Bath, Salisbury, and the little towns about Oxford, he went this summer, with his Uncle Draper, as far as the Land's End, which was an excursion of a month. The next progress, if God continue health, is designed to be Northward as far as Newcastle: in the interim, he is perusing such authors and maps as may be assistant to the speculative part of these motions; and, to supply the present unfavourable period for travelling in foreign countries, has learned the Italian tongue, and intends to proceed to the Spanish, having already the French from a child; whilst his inclinations more seriously lead him to History, Chronology, Mathematics, and the study of the Civil Law, which he joins with our Municipal Constitutions, without which he finds a country gentleman makes but a poor figure, and very useless. He not only keeps but greatly improves his Greek, by diligently reading their histories; and now and then, amongst other exercises, he turns some passages into Latin, translates select Epistles out of Cicero and Pliny, and letting them lye by some time, least the impression of the style and phrase prepossess him, turns them into Latin again, the better to judge of his improvement. He has his time for his Agrestic Flute, in which, with his Tutor, M^r^ Bannister, they spend a morning's hour together. He is likewise M^r^ Hale's scholar, and goes to the Fencing School here; and when in the country takes as much pleasure with his handbill and pruning-knife about our grounds and gardens, as I should do if I were able. Sometimes, if weather and neighbours invite, he hunts with them; my worthy friend M^r^ Finch using that diversion when he is in tolerable health: in sum, finding him so moderately and discreetly disposed, studious, and mindful of his own improvement, I give him free liberty, and, I bless God! have never found any indulgence prejudice him. It is a great word when I assure you I never yet saw him in a passion, or do a fault for which

he deserved reproof. And now you will no more believe half this, than I do of what Xenophon has written of his Cyrus: however, it entertains an old dotard, and as such I relate it.

Now, as for myself—I cannot but let you know the incredible satisfaction I have taken in reading my late Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, so well, and so unexpectedly well written—the preliminary so like that of the noble Polybius, leading us by the courts, avenues, and porches, into the fabric; the style masculine; the characters so just, and tempered without the least ingredient of passion or tincture of revenge, yet with such natural and lively touches, as shew his Lordship well knew not only the persons' outsides, but their very interiors; whilst yet he treats the most obnoxious, who deserved the severest rebuke, with a becoming generosity and freedom, even where the ill conduct of those of the pretended loyal party, as well as of the most flagitious, might have justified the worst that could be said of their miscarriages and demerits: in sum, there runs through this noble piece a thread so even, and without breach or knot in the whole contexture, with such choice and profitable instructions naturally emerging from the subject, as persons of the sublimest rank and office need not be ashamed to learn their duty, and how to govern themselves, and, from the lapses and false politicks of others, how the greatest favourites and men in grace should be examples of modesty and temperance, unelated, easy, and accessible without abusing their power; whilst, being apt to forget themselves, and the slippery precipices they stand on, they too often study, not so much how to make their treading sure by the virtue of justice, moderation, and public spirit, as to raise themselves fortunes, and purchase titles and adorations, by flattering the worst and most destructive inclinations of Princes in the most servile compliances and basest offices.

What I have written more in this style, and from my heart, to my present Lord Clarendon, who sent me his father's books, I wish you had seen, for I acknowledge myself so transported with all the parts of this excellent History, that, knowing as I did most of the persons then acting the tragedy, and those against it, I have no more to say, but much, very much to admire, not doubting but the rest which follows will be still matter of panegyric, and justify the highest epithets; and that, by the

time he has done, there will need no other history or account of what passed during the reign of that suffering and unfortunate Prince, to give the world a piece equal to any thing extant, not only in our own poorly furnished history of this, but of any nation about us. To conclude: it required no little skill, prudence, and dexterity, to adventure so near the truth without danger or just resentment of those who deserved so ill, as no reflections could have been severe enough. But I have done: let what I have written to his Lordship speak the rest of my sentiments on this author and noble work. Thus, what I would wish for myself and all I love, as I do Mr. Pepys, should be the old man's life, as described in the distich, which you deservedly have attained:

Vita Senis, libri, domus, hortus, lectus amicus,
Vina, Nepos, ignis, mens hilaris, pietas.

In the mean time, I feed on the past conversation I once had in York Buildings, and starve since my friend has forsaken it.

J. EVELYN.

C. orig.] *Robert Nelson*[1] *to S. Pepys.*

Blackheath, March 2, 1702–3.

Sir—I have not been unmindful of your commands, neither can I ever neglect what is enjoined me by so worthy a friend, but it required some time to receive such an account of that matter as I might depend upon. After the strictest enquiry, I find none of our Clergy placed in your neighbourhood nearer than Mitcham, where lives one M[r] Higden, a very ingenious person, who married the late Lord Stowel's sister; but I believe you may have one with greater ease from London, by reason of the conveniency of public conveyances. Our friend, Dean Hickes, is at present at Oxford; but if you will be pleased, whenever your occasions require it, to send to M[r] Spinckes, who has the honour of being known to you, he will be sure to wait upon you, and take such measures that you may alwaies be supplied, whenever you stand in need of such assistance. He lodges at a Glazier's in Winchester Street, near London Wall.

You will pardon me, Sir, if I take this occasion to acquaint you with a pious work which is now carrying on by the joint assistance of our Nobility and Gentry,

[1] The learned and pious Robert Nelson, author of "The Fasts and Feasts," &c. Ob. Jan. 1714–15.

as well as of the Bishops and Clergy. The states of Holland have consented that the Church of England worship should be established at Rotterdam; and, that it may be performed with its due solemnity, there is a design encouraged of building a Church in that place, which by estimate will cost £3500; £1000 of that sum must be buried to lay the foundation: it will be no surprise to you who are acquainted with that situation. The General Officers have contributed beyond expectation, military men having seldom any great zeal in such matters, and a great many of the Nobility and Gentry having taken this occasion to shew their zeal for the Church. The Duke of Marlborough has given it his particular countenance, and the expectation of £500 from the Queen. I could not forbear laying this matter before you, whom God has blessed with such a plentiful fortune, which you know how to dispose of to the best advantage, and such as will turn you to good account at the great day; and withall I beg that M Hewer may be acquainted with this pious design, which will contribute so much to God's glory and the honour of the Church. I do most heartily wish you health and ease; but if the Providence of God thinks fit to try you with the want of both, that you may find the comfort of religion under all your afflictions, and may make His will your choice and satisfaction.

I am, with great respect,

Your most faithful humble Servant, R. NELSON.

C. orig.] *Roger Gale to S. Pepys.*

York, March 8, 1702–3.

Honoured Sir—I should have been not a little glad to hear by my Brother, that you had your health in a better measure than I now am sorry to find you have. It is no small pleasure to me to find you consult me in a matter which I have always wished to have an opportunity to set in a right light, and that the account I now send is to a person who had rather hear the truth than strange stories. You will easily believe there is not much of that in it, when I assure you that, for 3 months after my Father's death,[1] I never heard the least word of this apparition; but, upon my return to Cambridge, I was

[1] He died in the Deanery at York, April 8, 1702. His portrait is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

surprized to find the story in every body's mouth. The whole was occasioned, as I found at my arrival hither, by one M^r^ Hawley, a Vicar of the Minster, a person never of any credit, and a great talker; and it was observed, immediately upon his broaching this story, that he had dined that day at my Lord Mayor's table, where there was always wine enough. This person, coming to Cambridge to take his Doctor's degree, amongst other Northern news, told this story at the Vice-Chancellor's table, where was company enough, and I find it every where spread. The truth of the matter is as follows: D^r^ Stainforth, one of the Residentiaries of the Church, and whose stall is next but one to the Dean's, coming that day a little later than usual to prayers, found his own place and the next filled up by some strangers, so that he was obliged to seat himself in the Dean's. M^r^ Hawley read the second Lesson, and, coming down from the reading desk, which stands in the middle of the Choir, did really mistake him for the Dean, and as usual made him a bow. D^r^ Stainforth was sensible of his mistake at the very time, and therefore did not return it, the compliment not being due to him. D^r^ Stainforth went immediately after Church to a neighbouring coffee-house, and was followed by most of the Clergy, and this M^r^ Hawley, who there told this fine story, and expressed his amazement at the Dean's anger. But, upon the Doctor's telling the occasion of his mistake, he was only laughed at. D^r^ Stainforth gave me the preceding account, and wondered at D^r^ Hawley's, as he now is, impudence in setting about such a falsity. 'Twas an easy mistake, the D^r^ being very much of my Father's size and make, not very unlike in the face, being pretty fat, and the stall where he sat dark. So that all the strangeness of this matter is, that D^r^ Hawley should persist in his narration, knowing it to be false.

Your most obliged, humble Servant,

ROGER GALE.

END OF THE CORRESPONDENCE.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

—o—

Extracts from the Correspondence of the Comte de Comminges, the French Ambassador at Whitehall, with Louis XIV., and the Marquis de Lionne, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs at Paris.[1]

A Monsieur de Lionne.

Calais, Decr 20, 1662.

Vous n'auriez jamais pensé que les folies du Chevalier de Grammont eussent pu servir une seule fois en sa vie à l'advancement des affaires du Roi. Néantmoins il est vray que sans son arrivé en ce port j'y étois retenu par le mauvais temps, qui ne m'eut pas permis de m'embarquer dans le paquebot. Je pars à quatre heures dans le yacht de M. le Duc d'York qui me conduira jusqu'à Londres ; la voiture sera plus honnête, et plus sure, et même plus prompte pour donner commencement aux affaires de S. M. que je traiterais avec tout soin.

Au Roi.

Londres, Dec. 24, 1662.

Sire—Je ne parlerai pas à V. M. des incommodités que j'ai souffert dans le voyage par le débordement des eaux, si je n'y étois nécessité pour excuser le peu de diligence que j'ai fait ; ce n'est pas que je n'ai quasi forcé les elemens à se rendre favorables à mes desseins, mais tout ce que j'ai pu faire après avoir évité deux ou trois naufrages sur

[1] These letters were copied from the originals, in the "Bibliothèque du Roi," at Paris, by Sir Cuthbert Sharp, F.S.A., and obligingly placed at the Editor's disposal. They confirm many of the facts recorded in the early part of the Diary, and, should the reader feel tempted to examine the two accounts of the same events, Pepys's credit as a faithful chronicler will not suffer from the comparison. There are also a few anecdotes relating to the court of Charles II., and more particularly the Comte de Grammont, which have no immediate reference to the Diary, but are not to be met with elsewhere.

la terre, et souffert la tourmente sur la mer, a été de me rendre ici hier.

Au Roi.

Londres, Dec. 29, 1662.

Le Chevalier Benet est fort bien avec son Maitre jusques au point qu'il avoit donné quelque jalousie à la cabale du Chancelier, mais cela est assoupi par quelque eclaircissement. L'on ne parle en cette Cour que de la magnificence de V. M. le diamant qu'elle a donné au Mi Lord Jarret,[1] en a fourni une ample matière. Il a été produit en plein cercle, et Leur M^s^. de la Grande Bretagne l'ont estimé 6000 écus.

Jan. 5–15, 1662–3.

La Reine Mère ne se porte pas bien; elle est extrèmement maigrie, et a une toux qui tire à la consomption. Son médecin lui a déclaré qu'il n'y avoit point de sureté pour sa vie, si elle ne retourneroit en France, puisque l'air d'Angleterre lui étoit mortel. Tous ses gens sont de cet avis, et le Comte de St. Alban's est si interessé à sa conservation qu'il tomberoit dans cette volonté universelle de ses domestiques, quoiqu'il soit ici fort à son aise. Ainsi, Sire, je croy que si elle peut mettre ordre à ses affaires, V. M. la reverra bientôt à Paris.

A Monsieur de Lionne.

Londres, Janvier 5–15, 1662–3.

Le Chevalier de Grammont arriva hier fort content de son voyage. Il a été ici reçu le plus agréablement du monde. Il est de toutes les parties du Roi, et commande chez Madame de Castlemaine, qui fit hier un assez bon tour. Madame Jaret, avec laquelle elle a ici un grand demeslé, devoit donner à souper à Leur M. Toutes choses préparés et la compagnie assemblé, le Roi en sortit et s'en alla chez Madame de Castlemaine, où il passa l'après souper. Cela a fait grand bruit, les cabales se remuent, chacun songe à la vengeance, les uns tout pleins de jalousie, les autres de dépit, et tous, en général, d'étonnement. Le Balet est rompu manque de moyens; il n'y a personne qui sache danser, et moins encore pour le diriger, et former un sujet. Il y a bal de deux jours l'un, et comédie aussi; les autres jours se passent au jeu, les uns chez la Reine, et les autres chez Madame de Castlemaine, où la compagnie ne manque pas d'un bon souper.

[1] Probably Gerard.

A Monsieur de Lionne.

Janvier 22–Febvrier 1.

Beaucoup d'officiers Irlandois m'ont faits l'honneur de me rendre visite, et m'ont priés de me servir d'eux si j'en avois besoin. Ils paroissent affectionez pour la France, et rebutez de l'Espagne: en un mot ce sont gens qui cherchent maître, et qui sont fort ennuiez de la tyrannie que l'on exerce indifféremment sur toute leur nation. Ma maison sera ouverte demain avec trente personnes vêtues de deuil, quatre carosses, et huit ou dix gentilshommes. Le Roi et M. le Duc d'York me feront l'honneur d'y diner: ce n'est pas que j'aye prié sa Majeste; mais il a voulu être de la partie de tous les illustres desbauchez du Royaume.

Au Roi.

Febvrier 12–22, 1662–3.

J'ai appris de bon lieu que le Roi de la G. B. négotie en secret le mariage du fils aîné du Chancelier avec la fille du Comte de Bristol, afin de réunir les deux cabales. Je ne scay si le Comte de Bristol ne se repent point de s'être fait Catholique la veille de Paques: cela l'éloigne des affaires si bien, que ne pouvant trouver sa satisfaction hors des charges de la Couronne et de la Maison, il faut pour faire quelque figure et le tenir en considération, qu'il prenne parti dans les délibérations du Parlement, qui ne sont pas toujours favorables aux intentions de S. M. B. Le bruit ayant couru dans Londres des raisons qui retardoient mon entrée, le Chevalier de Grammont et le Sieur de St. Evremont me sont venus trouver comme bons François, et zélez pour la gloire et l'authorité de V. M. Je me servirai de l'un et de l'autre selon que j'en jugerai à propos, et s'ils font leur devoir, comme je suis persuadé qu'ils feront, j'espère que V. M. aura la bonté de les ouïr nommer, et permettre qu'ils méritent par leur services qu'elle leur pardonne, après une pénitence conforme à la faute.

A Monsieur de Lionne.

Febvrier 26–Mars 8, 1662–3.

Il y a 5 ou 6 jours que le Roi alla à la Tour de Londres faire prêter serment à tous les officiers de la Monnoie, et après cette action, il fit luy même 16 dix pièces dont j'ai reconnu celle que j'envois à S. M. Ce sont nos Louis blancs que l'on a travesti en couronnes, et si l'acquisition de

Dunquerque nous les a ravi, les vins de Gascogne nous les rapporteront. L'on proposa à la Chambre Basse un acte contre le jeu de l'ombre, ou du moins une limitation jusques à la concurrence de 5 pièces. La proposition fut traitée de ridicule; elle donna occasion à une autre qui passera, qui est que l'on ne sera point obligé à paier aucune debte contractée au jeu que l'on n'ait 31 ans accomplis.

Au Roi.

Mars 23–Avril 2, 1663.

Sire—Il semble que les arts et les sciences abandonnent quelques fois un pays, pour en aller honorer un autre à son tour. Presentement elles ont passés en France; et s'il en restent ici quelques vestiges, ce n'est que dans la mémoire de Bacon, de Morus, de Buchanan, et dans les derniers siècles d'un nommé Miltonius,[1] qui s'est rendu plus infame par ses dangereux escrits, que les boureaux et les assassins de leur Roi.

A Monsieur de Lionne.

Londres, Avril 2–12, 1663.

Je ne scay, et le Duc de Buckingham ne scait pas luy même, par quel instinct il se trouva porté à se retirer à 9 heures, et souper avec madame sa femme. Le valet de son intendant, homme apparement sage et fidelle, croiant qu'il seroit retiré à sa chambre sur l'heure de minuit, puisqu'il s'étoit retiré de si bonne heure, sortit de sa chambre avec son épée; un homme qui couchoit avec lui, lui demanda où il alloit, et ce qu'il vouloit faire avec son épée. Il luy repondit, qu'il avoit ouï crier au voleur, et qu'il couroit au bruit. Il continua son voyage jusqu'à la chambre du Duc, croiant le trouver couché, mais ne luy ayant pas rencontré, il passa à l'apartement de la Duchesse. Il trouva un valet de chambre à la porte, qui le voiant avec son épée nue, eut assez de foiblesse pour mettre ordre à sa vie par la fuite, et laisser celle de son maître en danger. Il entra donc l'épée à la main, 4 valets présents, dont il y en avoit un qui avoit un épée, s'enfuirent. Le Duc se leva d'auprès de sa femme qu'il entretenoit auprès du feu, et luy demanda ce qu'il souhaitoit dans l'état auquel il étoit. Il repondit, "C'est toy que je cherche, et à qui j'en veux." A ces paroles, le Duc trouva un couteau sur la table, dont il se saisit, et se jeta sur le valet, avec assez de bonne fortune

[1] The Frenchman's contemptuous notice of Milton is very amusing.

pour luy ôter son épée ; et après l'avoir interrogé et l'avoir trouvé hors d'esprit et de bon sens, il vouloit se retirer auprès de la porte pour appeler quelques valets. Cependant le malheureux et méchant homme vouloit encore saisir de luy, et l'offenser avec un couteau qu'il avoit dans sa poche, et eut exécuté son dessein, sans le cry de la Duchesse qui fit retourner le Duc, qui alors luy donna quelques coups.[1] Voiez, Monsieur, ce que c'est que l'Angleterre ! Quand je viens à faire réflexion que cette terre ne produit ni loups ni bêtes venineuses, je ne m'en étonne pas, les hommes y sont bien plus méchants et plus dangereux, et s'il falloit se garder de tout avec précaution, le meilleur seroit de l'abandonner.

Mai 15, 1663.

Il est arrivé depuis trois jours une affaire assez plaisante en cette Cour. M. le Comte d'Oxford, un des plus qualifiez Seigneurs d'Angleterre, Chevalier de la Jarretière, et Mestre du Camp du Régiment de Cavalrie du Roy, pria à diner le Général Monck, le grand Chambellan du Royaume, et quelques autres Conseillers d'Etat. A ce nombre se joignèrent tous les jeunes gens de qualité. La débauche s'eschauffa à tel point que chacun y fut offenseur et offensé, l'on se gourma, l'on s'arracha les cheveux, et enfin deux de la troupe se battirent à coups d'épée. Mais heureusement cette escarmouche sépara la compagnie ; chacun prit son parti selon son inclination, ceux qui s'en allérent avec le Général demandèrent à boire, on leur en donna, ils poussèrent l'affaire jusques au soir, ce qui les obligea de demander à manger, estants eschauffez du matin et de l'après dinée, chacun résolut de porter son compagnon par terre. Le Général, qui a sans doute la tête plus forte, fit un coup de maître, et leur présentant à chacun un *hanap*,[2] qui tenoit beaucoup, les uns l'avalèrent, les autres ne purent, mais généralement tous demeurèrent jusqu'au lendemain sans avoir conversation, quoiqu'en même chambre. Le seul Général alla au Parlement comme à son ordinaire, et n'en perdit ni le jugement ni l'esprit. Cela a fait rire la compagnie, et n'a passé que pour un emportement.

Au Roi.

Londres, Juin 25–Juillet 5, 1663.

Sire — Madame la Duchesse d'York est prête d'ac-

[1] It turned out that he was a fanatic.
[2] A large cup, or bowl.

coucher; la Reine Mère se porte fort bien; le reste va toujours à son ordinaire, quoiqu'il y ait eu depuis peu, grande querelle entre les Dames; jusques là que le Roy menaça la Dame où il soupe tous les soirs, de ne mettre jamais le pied chez elle si la demoiselle[1] n'y étoit. Cela fait qu'elle ne la quitte plus, ce que tout le monde trouve fort étrange, et moi je suis de contraire avis, car il me semble qu'elle ne sera jamais plus sûre de sa conquête qu'en tenant sa rivale par a la main, si ce n'est aux heures de son triomphe. Le Roi a fait le jeune Barclay Milord: on l'a tenu quelque temps caché, de peur d'irriter la Chambre Basse qui en a témoigné hautement son déplaisir. L'affaire du Comte de St. Alban's s'est évanouie: il n'en est pas de même de celle de Bristol—il a été trois fois refusé chez Madame de Castlemaine, où il ne manquoit jamais d'aller souper avec le Roi.

A Monsieur de Lionne.

Juillet 2–12, 1663.

Je vous avois mandé que le Comte de Sunderland épousoit la fille du Comte de Bristol. Il se retira le soir qu'on devoit l'épouser, et donna ordre à un de ses amis de rompre le mariage. Le procédé surprit toute la Cour, et le Roi même s'en est moqué, et l'a blamé au dernier point.

A Monsieur de Lionne.

Londres, Octobre 15–20, 1663.

La nuit de vendredi au samedi la Reine pensa mourir—elle reçut la viatique, fit son testament, et se fit couper les cheveux, après avoir donné ordre à ses affaires domestiques. Le Roi se jetta à ses genoux fondant en larmes; elle le consola avec beaucoup de tranquillité et de douceur. Elle réjouit de le voir bientôt en état de se pouvoir marier avec une princesse d'un plus grand mérite, et qui put contribuer à sa satisfaction et du repos de l'état. Il fallut retirer le Roi de ce funeste spectacle, qui s'était attendri jusques à l'évanouissement: tout le jour se passa au crainte, le soir le sommeil lui donna quelque repos, la nuit se passa sans redoublement, et présentement elle est en meilleur état.

[1] Miss Stewart.

Au Roi.

Octobre 25–29, 1663.

Sire—Je sors présentement de Witthall où j'ay laissé la Reine dans un état où selon le jugement des médecins il y a peu de chose à espérer. Elle a reçu l'extrême onction ce matin; et ensuite, elle a prié le Roi de deux choses—l'une que son corps fut renvoié en Portugal pour être enterré dans le tombeau de ses pères; et l'autre qu'il conservait le souvenir de l'obligation où son honneur l'engageoit de ne se jamais séparer ses intérêts du Roi son frère, et de la protection d'un peuple affligé. Pour la dernière des prières, le temps nous en apprendra le succès, pour l'autre je ne doute pas que l'on n'y satisfasse très volontiers.

Le Roi me paroit fort affligé; il soupa néantmoins hier au soir chez Mad. de Castlemaine, et eut conversations ordinaires avec Mademoseille Stuard, dont il est fort amoureux.

Au Roi.

Londres, Octobre 26–Novembre 5, 1663.

Sire—Monsieur de Catteu arriva le vendredi au soir; je ne perdis point de temps pour le conduire à Withall, où je scavois déjà que l'on s'empatientoit pour l'arrivée de quelque envoyé. Le Roi le reçut avec beaucoup de satisfaction, et voulut qu'il vit la Reine, mais comme elle reposoit, et qu'il étoit déjà fort tard, la visite fut remise au lendemain. Je ne manquai pas de me rendre à l'heure ordonnée, et le Roi nous introduisit dans la ruelle de son lit, et prit la peine de faire les complimens de V. M. et des Reines, avec assez de peine, parceque sa maladie l'a rendue tellement sourde qu'elle n'entend qu'à force de crier à ses oreilles, encore faut il s'en approcher de fort prèz.[1] Elle témoigna beaucoup de satisfaction, et repondit en peu de mots, mais fort intelligibles. Depuis ce temps

[1] This passage affords a curious specimen of the extent to which court etiquette and ceremony had been carried by Louis XIV. Catherine of Braganza was slowly recovering from a most dangerous fever, and yet she was compelled to give an audience in her bed to the French Ambassador; and her deafness rendered it necessary that he should bawl into her majesty's ear, before she could understand the compliments which he had been ordered personally to deliver. His assurance in attributing the improvement that had taken place in the queen's health to the interest which Louis had evinced in her welfare, rather than to the skill of her medical attendants, is also very characteristic.

elle s'est beaucoup mieux portée, et il me semble que le soin que V. M. a pris de l'envoier visiter, ait plus contribué à sa guérison, que tous les médecins. Ils nous font espèrer qu'elle est hors de danger, néantmoins elle rêve encore assez souvent, ce qui marque que son cerveau est fort attaqué, puisque la fièvre n'est pas assez ardente pour produire cet effet. Il faut avoir été témoin de ce que j'ai vu pour le croire ; jusques au moindre courtisan se donnoit la liberté de marier son Maître : chacun selon son inclination, mais les plus confidens parloient de la fille du Prince de Ligne, à laquelle le Roi d'Espagne devoit faire des grands avantages. Je puis assurer V. M. que si la malade eschappe, qu'elle rompra bien des mesures, et que peu de gens en auront de la joye ; si ce n'est Monsieur, et Madame la Duchesse d'York, qui se voyoient bien éloignez des belles espérances des quelles apparement ils se peuvent flatter, puisque l'on dit que la Reine ne peut avoir d'enfans.

Au Roi.

Londres, Novembre 9, 1663.

Sire—Le Maître des cérémonies prit le soin de venir me prendre à huit heures, afin de me faire voir le commencement de la cérémonie,[1] qui se fait sur l'eau ; de-là il me conduisit dans la grande rue, où il m'avoit fait préparer une chambre, afin que plus commodement je visse la cavalcade, qui ne fut pas sitôt passé, que je monte en carosse pour prendre les devants par les rues destournées. J'arrivois un demi heure devant le Maire. Je fus reçu à la Maison de Ville avec tout l'accueil imaginable ; l'on m'ouvrit la porte pour faire entrer mes carosses. Je fus salué de la picque et du drappeau par les officiers, qui se trouvèrent à ma descente.

Incontinent je fus reçu par d'autres bourgeois, qui me remirent sous la conduite d'autres, et ainsy de lieu en lieu l'on me conduisit jusques la salle du festin, où se trouvent M. le Chancelier et le Conseil du Roi, qui étoit déjà à table. Je fus surpris de cette grossière incivilité ; néantmoins, pour éviter de faire une affaire, je pris le parti de donner lieu à ces messieurs de réparer cette faute, sy elle s'étoit faite par ignorance, ou par mesgarde, ou d'éluder leur malice par un procédé franc et hardi. Je marchai droit à eux, à dessein de leur faire une raillerie de leur bon appétit ; mais je les trouve sy froids et sy interdis, que je juge à propos de me retirer ; le Chancelier et tous

[1] The Lord Mayor's Show.

ses assistans ne s'estant pas levés pour me recevoir, à la réserve de Benet, qui me dit quelque chose à quoi je respondis avec mespris. Je retire, le Maître des cérémonies parloit au Chancelier, et l'on me vit partir sans que personne se mit en peine, ny de me faire excuses, ny civilités. Je dis de ceux du Conseil; car pour les officiers de la Ville, et les principaux bourgeois qui attendoient le Maire pour diner, je ne vis jamais plus de tristesse; chacun m'offrant des partis que je ne pouvois prendre avec bienséance. Ainsy je sortis, tout le peuple murmurant du peu de satisfaction que j'avois reçu dans un lieu où j'avois été convié avec toute la solemnité possible.

Je retourne diner chez moy, où deux heures après je fus visité par les deux mêmes prévosts qui m'avoient conviés, accompagnés de quelques bourgeois, et du peuple, qui demeura à ma porte. L'ordre qu'ils avoient du Maire et du Corps de Ville étoit de me faire des excuses de ce qui s'étoit passé, et ce qui ne peuvent par leurs parolles, leur affection, et le temoignage de leur douleur suppléa au reste.

Ils tachèrent à rejetter l'affaire sur une surprise ; je leur fis voir que cette raison ne valoit rien à mon égard, et qu'ilz devoient percevoir qu'il n'y en eust pas, et qu'ayant été prié, ilz ne pouvoient douter que je n'y allasse, sur tout leur ayant promis : ensuite, sur leur ignorance et peu de capacité à recevoir des personnes de ma qualité; à quoi je respondis qu'il y avoit trop peu de temps qu'ilz avoient faits cet honneur à un Ambassadeur d'Espagne pour avoir oublié ce qu'ilz doivent à un de France ; et ne trouvant plus rien à dire, ils rejettèrent toute la faute sur le Maître de cérémonies. Je leur dis que cette raison étoit aussy mauvaise que les autres, puisque sa fonction ne s'étendoit point dans leurs festes, et qu'il étoit venu avec moi comme un particulier convié, pour la commodité de passer et d'entrer, avec moins de peine. Pour conclusion : ils me prirent de vouloir me satisfaire de leurs excuses. Je leur respondis que l'affaire avoit eu trop de témoins pour pouvoir se cacher, et que mon devoir m'obligeoit de rendre compte à V. M. ; leur insinuant que ce n'étoit pas d'eux seulement que j'avois à me plaindre, et qu'ils avoient des complices de leur mauvaise conduite, ou de leur faute. Après cela, je les conduisis hors de ma salle, où je les arrête un peu ; et pour leur faire plus de honte, je leur dis que je voulois passer plus avant, et payer un assez mauvais traitement par une civilité extraordinaire.

Au Roi.

Novembre 12–22, 1663.

Sire—Le lendemain à onze heures, l'on m'advertit ue le Maire étoit parti de chez luy pour me rendre visite. ¶ Il arriva un moment après, suivi de dix ou douze carosses et d'un assez grand troupe de peuple, qui suivoit ce cortège par curiosité. Il entra chez moi, avec les marques de sa dignité, c'est-à-dire, l'épée et les masses, portées par des officiers de la Ville, la queue de sa robe par un autre, les Prévosts, les Aldermen, et plusieurs honorables bourgeois. Il arrêta quelques momens dans ma salle basse; peut-être en intention que je l'y allasse recevoir; mais un de mes sécrétaires lui aiant dit qu'il y avoit du feu dans la salle haute, et que je n'étois pas achevé d'habiller, aiant emploié toute la matinée à faire mes dépêches, il monta en haut, et sitôt je l'allois prendre pour le conduire dans ma chambre d'audience: je ne voulus point l'entendre, qu'il ne fut assis. D'abord il me témoigna qu'il étoit bien faché de ne pouvoir s'expliquer en François, mais qu'il avoit amené avec lui un interprète, qui m'expliqueroit le discours qu'il avoit à me faire, qui consistoit en deux points; le premier de les excuser et pardonner la faute qu'ils avoient faits, et l'autre de vouloir leur donner un jour pour la réparer; que de ma réponse dépendoit la satisfaction ou honte éternelle de la Ville de Londres, et qu'en leur particulier leur disgrace étoit assuré, tant du coté du peuple que de celuy du Roi, qui ne leur pardonnerait jamais si je leur en donnois exemple. Je conduisis le Maire jusques à son carosse, luy donnant tousjours, la porte, mais conservant tousjours la main droite. Le tout se passa avec satisfaction de tous cotéz.

Au Roi.

Londres, Decembre 10–20, 1663.

Sire—Le Chevalier de Grammont a été ravi de la nouvelle que je lui ai donné, et il m'a dit plus de 1000 fois qu'il aimoit mieux servir V. M. pour rien, que tous les Rois du monde pour leurs trésors. Il va se préparer à prendre congé de Celui de la Grande Bretagne, auquel sans doute il a des grandes obligations pour la manière obligeante dont il a été reçu et traité. Dans l'excès de sa joie il n'a pas pu me cacher sa surprise, se qui me persuade que l'affaire est faite, et qu'il fera un grand sacrifice à V. M. d'abandonner ses nouveaux et légitimes amours; car je crois qu'il se consolera bientôt, et que peutêtre fera t'il

voir la Cour de France à une belle Angloise,[1] qui pour le bien n'y trouvera point de difference à celle d'Angleterre. Il fait son compte de partir dans 4 jours.

Decembre 20–24.

Le Chevalier de Grammont devoit partir aujourdhui, mais le Roi l'a retenu pour un jour, peut-être pour lui faire quelque présent, ou pour faciliter le paiement de 800 pièces qui lui sont dues par Madame de Castlemaine. Il laisse ici quelques autres debtes, qu'il prétend venir recueillir quand il se déclarera sur le sujet de Mlle. Hamilton, qui est si embrouillé que les plus clair voyans n'y voyent goutte. Il va faire sa confession générale à V. M.

Au Roi.

Janvier 25–Février 4, 1663–4.

Dimanche dernier le Comte de Bristol se présenta dans la paroisse d'Oulmilton[2] à 2 lieux de Londres, avec un notaire et des témoins, et prit acte devant tout le peuple qu'il étoit Protestant, et que de bon cœur il renonçoit à la religion Catholique. Après il prit le Ministre et quelques uns des plus honnêtes gens, et les mena diner chez lui, car cette maison lui appartient, l'aiant acheté de la Reine Mère. Le diner fini, il monta à cheval avec 4 cavaliers, et se retira. L'action est insolente et téméraire, et fait juger qu'il se présentera sitôt que le Parlement s'ouvrira. Chacun blame cette conduite, mais personne ne se met en peine de la punir. Ce navire d'Irlande,[3] qui avoit fait tant de bruit, et qui devoit à l'avenir servir de modèle pour la fabrique des vaisseaux, est enfin après 3 mois de navigation arrivé à Woolwich près de Greenwich. C'est bien la plus ridicule et inutile machine que l'esprit de l'homme peut concevoir; le médecin qui l'a inventé retourne à son premier metier, et laisse la fabrique aux charpentiers.

Au Roi.

Londres, Mai 19–24, 1664.

Les calêches commencent à voir le jour; et la Reine, avec toute sa suite, fait souvent des promenades à cheval.

[1] Miss Hamilton.

[2] Wimbledon House and Manor; of which Henrietta Maria regained possession at the Restoration, and in 1661 alienated them to George Earl of Bristol.—*Lyson's Environs.*

[3] Sir W. Petty's double-bottomed vessel.

Les dames y paroissent à l'envie les unes des autres, mais cela ne produit point de jalousie. Je ne vis jamais deux rivales vivre en si bonne intelligence ; ce n'est pas que l'on les ménage beaucoup, et que l'on prenne grand soin de cacher ces larcins, mais c'est l'humeur du pays, qui n'a de sensible jalousie que contre la France. M. de Montagu, prémier écuyer de la Reine d'Angleterre, gentilhomme aussi bien fait et aussi spirituel qu'il y en ait dans cette Cour, a eu ordre de se retirer en province. L'on parle en secret de sa disgrace, mais l'on convient que ce nouveau Tantale n'a pu menager ses regards, et qu'il les a poussez si haut qu'ils se sont allumez dans la source de la lumière. Le Chevalier de Grammont rend les derniers abois ; il a perdu en deux fois dix huit cent pièces, ce n'étoit pas veritablement de l'argent comptant ; mais Madame sa femme eut pu les retirer par parcelles, et s'en servir durant son absence pour les affaires domestiques. Je ne scais si cela ne retardera point son voyage, puisq'un joueur ne se retire guères sur sa perte. Les malicieux pensent autrement, et disent qu'il a autant de peine à quitter sa femme qu'il en a eu à l'epouser, à cause d'un beau cousin, fils du Duc d'Ormond, qui sous le prétexte de la parenté lui rend des visites fort assidues, qui n'ont pas suivi le mariage, mais qui l'avoient precédé.

A Monsieur de Lionne.

Londres, Juillet 7–17, 1664.

Pour ne vous pas laisser alarme de la maladie, vous sçaurais qu'il y a quatre ou cinq jours que le Roy avec les Reines allerènt en berges voir les vaisseaux qui sont sortis du Port de Chatam, et que durant la grande ardeur du soleil, le Roy quitta sa perruque et son pourpoint ; à son retour il se trouva fort enrhumé, ce qui obligea les médecins de le faire saigner. Le lendemain il se trouva avec un peu de fièvre, et ce matin il a beaucoup sué, et se trouve fort soulagé, et sans aucune chaleur.

A Monsieur de Lionne.

Londres, Aout 29–Septembre 8, 1664.

Madame la Comtesse de Grammont accoucha hier au soir d'un fils beau comme la mère, et galant comme le père : toute la Cour s'en est réjouie avec le Comte, que j'en trouve tout rajeuni, mais je croy que l'ésperance de

retourner tôt en France a effacé les rides de ses yeux et de son front, et fait naître les lys et les roses sur ses joues.

A Monsieur de Lionne.

Londres, Septembre 14–24–Octobre 2, 1664.

Le Roi de la Grande Bretagne avec douze des principaux seigneurs de sa Cour me fit l'honneur de souper lundy céans; toutes choses s'y passèrent fort bien, et sans contrainte; la santé du Roi fit le préambule du repas commencé par le Roi de la Grande Bretagne, qui obligea chacun de suivre son exemple, sans que les dames pussent rien exempter; aussi, à dire le vray, ne se firent-elles pas presser. Le repas fut gai, et l'après soupée emploiée à ouir la musique, les violons et le Sieur Francisque, grand joueur de guitare.—Madame de Fienne étoit de la partie, qui fit bien son devoir. Aujourdhuy le Roi est parti pour la chasse.

Il y a deux jours que Madame de Castlemaine sortant le soir de chez Madame la Duchesse qui demeure présentement à St. James, accompagnée d'une seule demoyselle et d'un petit page, fut rencontrée par trois gentilshommes (ou de moins le pouvoit on ainsy juger à leur habillemens) masquéz, qui luy firent la plus forte et rude réprimande que l'on puisse imaginer, jusques à luy dire que la maîtresse d'Eduoard IV. s'étoit morte sur un fumier méprisée et abandonnée de tout le monde. Vous pouvez penser sy le temps leur dura, car le parc est plus long que de chez Renard au Pavillon. Sitôt qu'elle fut dans sa chambre elle s'évanouit, le Roi qui en fut adverti courut au secours, et s'étant informé de l'affaire, fit fermer toutes les portes, et arrêter tout ce qui se trouva. Sept ou huit personnes qui s'y rencontrèrent ont été confrontés et point reconnues: on a publié l'advanture, que l'on a bien voulu étouffer, mais je croy qu'il en sera difficile.

A Monsieur de Lionne.

Londres, Octobre 24–Novembre 3, 1664.

Le Comte de Grammont est parti aujourdhui avec sa femme, qui marche en équipage de nouvelle mariée. Il vous dira cent choses que je ne scaurois écrire, et je vous dirai pour finir, qu'il est affligé à la mort d'un mauvais office qu'on lui a rendu auprès du Roi—le taxant d'être blasphémateur. Il y a long-temps que je le connois, mais je ne le vis jamais sujet à ce vice; et de plus, je vous

assure qu'il ne l'a pas appris ici, puisque l'on y jure moins qu'en aucun lieu, et que j'ai vu 4 gentilshommes, pour avoir blasphemés, etant ivres, condamnées à tenir prison, et payer chacun mille pièces, dont il y en a eu deux qui n'en sont sortis qu'après un long-temps, n'ayans pu fournir la somme qu'avec l'assistance de plusieurs de leurs amis.

A Monsieur de Lionne.

Londres, Octobre 27–Novembre 6, 1664.

Hier le Roi d'Angleterre me fit l'honneur de me mener avec lui voir mettre à la mer un vaisseau de 1200 tonneaux,[1] le plus beau et le plus roial que j'aye jamais vu ; cependant que les peintres travaillent à l'embellissement des dehors, et des chambres, l'on le maste, l'on y met les cordages et l'artillerye, qui est au nombre de 70 pièces. La batérie basse est de 4 pièces de 48 livres de bal, 6 de 36, et le reste de 24 ; et la haute de 6 de 24 et le reste de 18 : la plus grande partie de fonte, quoyque le fer ne vaille guères moins, et que l'on y fasse de calibre de 24 qui ne pesent pas un millier plus que celle de metal.

Nous vîmes dans ce lieu là, tous les vieux généreaux et capitaines de Cromwel, qui sont fort affectionez et pleins de confiance, à cause de leur dernières victoires contre les Hollandois. Le Roi me dit devant eux qu'ils avoient tous eu la peste, mais qu'ils étoient parfaitement guéris, et moins susceptibles de maladie que les autres. Je vous avoue, Sire, qu'il n'y a rien de plus beau à voir que toute cette marine, rien de plus majestueux que ce grand nombre de vaisseaux faicts et à faire ; cette nombreuse quantité de canons, de masts, de cordages, de planches, et autres machines nécessaires à cette sorte de guerre. Le Roi nous fit dans un de ses yachts un magnifique repas, y but la santé de S. M., et commanda à la compagnie de la seconder, qui ne s'espargna pas à faire son devoir. Je fis le remercîment, et bus celle du Roi d'Angleterre. L'une et l'autre santé fut célébré de tant de coups de canon, que par son bruit il fit changer le temps.

Durant cette réjouissance qui commençoit à s'échauffer, la mer grossit, qui ne fit guère moins de malades que le vin : et la Reine, qui se trouvoit sur la rivière avec ses dames, fut bien exempte du mal, mais en pas de la crainte ; tout le reste s'en ressentit, et en donna des marques. Cette bourasque finie, le beau temps revient, qui en donna sufisament pour mettre le vaisseau à la mer,

[1] For an account of this launch see Diary, vol. ii., pp. 108, 109.

et en gouter le plaisir, sans incommodité de la grêle et de la pluie. La chose finie, la Reine prit les carosses préparez pour le Roi, qui faisant son plaisir de voir les autres malades dans la tempête, ne se soucia guères de nous y commettre. Nous ne pumes pourtant arriver à la ville dans la berge ; il falut prendre des carosses et des chevaux à Grenwich, pour nous rendre à Whithall.

Au Roi.

Londres, Nov^re. 13, 1664.

Il y a quinze jours que le Maire destiné pour cette anné, m'envoia convier (dans la forme la plus honorable que se puisse pratiquer) de vouloir diner à la Maison de Ville le jour de sa reception, avec le Conseil du Roi d'Angleterre, m'assurant que toutes choses étoient si bien disposées et les mesures si justement prises, que l'on m'y rendroit d'un commun consentiment tout l'honneur et le respect qui étoit dû à mon caractère ; et que la faute, que le seul malheur avoit causé, seroit réparée par une reception, que ne me donneroit pas moins de satisfaction, que celle de l'anné passé avoit donné de douleur à toute la Ville, qui ne pouvoit avoir de consolation, ni même de sureté de la parole que je luy avois donné, que V. M. n'en auroit jamais le moindre ressentiment qu'en me voiant satisfait, selon les desirs et souhaits du général et du particulier. Le lendemain le Roy m'envoia le Maitre des cérémonies me prier en son nom d'assister à la reception du Maire, ce que je fis d'assez bonne heure afin de ne laisser aucun prétexte à quelque nouvel accident. La chose n'avoit garde d'arriver, car jamais personne n'a été reçu avec plus d'honneur, tant par messieurs de la Ville que par messieurs du Conseil, dont les plus considérables, à l'envy les uns des autres, s'empressoient à me faire civilité et honneur. Enfin M. le Maire, par ordre de M. le Chancelier, m'addressa tous les complimens de la Ville ; qui n'avoient autre but que d'honorer V. M. Il me porta la santé du Roi d'Angleterre que je bus, et puis celle de V. M. à M. le Chancelier, qui s'en acquita dignement, et obligea tous ces seigneurs de la célébrer avec respect et joye. Après le repas, je fus conduit à mon carosse, et jamais M. le Chancelier ni tous ces messieurs ne voulurent se retirer, que je ne fusse parti. Si je parle de tous ces honneurs que l'on ma rendus, ce n'est pas que j'en veuille tirer ni vanité, ni avantage, c'est seulement pour faire scavoir à V. M. comme elle est honorée et estimée en cette Cour.

A List of such Shipps as were at Sceaueling in attending on his Ma^ty^ at his returne to England, with an account of the then Commanders in each Ship, as also an account of the Gratuity: from a paper in the British Museum.

19 June, 1660.

Names.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.	Gratuities.
Naseby, *alias* Charles	Roger Cuttance	500	80	801 19 6
London	John Lawson	360	64	580 13 6
Swiftsure.	Sir Rich^d^ Stayner	300	40	444 13 6
Speaker, *alias* Mary	Rob. Clarke	220	52	295 17 0
Centurion,	John Parke	150	40	209 17 0
Plymouth	Jo. Haywarde	260	54	298 7 10
Cherriton, *alias* Speedwell	Henry Cuttance	90	20	122 15 6
Dartmouth	Rich^d^ Rooth	100	22	134 4 2
Larke	Tho. Levidge	40	10	57 6 8
Hinde	Rich^d^ Country	35	6	55 15 8
Nonsuch frigate	John Parker	120	34	194 18 0
Norwich	Mich Untton.	100	22	133 0 0
Winsby, Happy Return	Joseph Ames.	160	44	173 6 9
Royal James	John Stoakes	400	70	369 4 3
Lamport, *alias* Henrietta	John Coppin.	210	50	274 1 4
Essex	Tho. Bunn	200	48	210 2 2
Portsmouth	Rob. Sansum	130	38	155 6 3
Yarmouth	Cha. Wager	160	44	215 2 0
Assistance	Tho^s^ Sparling	140	40	160 17 4
Foresight.	Peter Moothan	140	40	176 19 4
Elias	Mark Harrison	110	36	172 10 3
Bradford, Success	Peter Bower	100	24	
Hampshire	Henry Terne.	130	38	171 9 1
Greyhound	Jerem. Country	85	20	95 15 10
Francis	Will^m^ Dale	45	10	37 15 6
Lilly	John Pearce	35	6	46 9 9
Hawk	And^w^ Ashford	35	8	48 16 3
Richmond, formerly Wakefield	John Pointz	100	22	118 2 0
Martin	W^m^ Burrowes	50		
Merlyn	Edw. Grove			34 16 0
Roe, ketch	Tho. Bowry			51 8 0

Erectio Edwardi Mountagu, Nob. Ord. Gart. Militis, in Baronem Montagu de St. Neots, Vicecomitem de Hinchinbroke et Comitem de Sandwiche.—Ex. MSS. Ashmoleanis, vol. 838, p. 28.

Rex, &c., Archiepiscopis, &c., Salutem. Cum nihil majus muniat magisque illustret regale solium, quam ut nobiles militent, aut milites nobilitentur: cumque prædilectus et perquam fidelis consiliarius noster Edwardus Mountagu (præfectus generalis classis nostræ, et nobilissimi ordinis Garterii miles) ab antiquissimis ejusdem nominis de Shipton Montacute in agro Somersetensi baronibus, necnon inclitissimis Sarisburiæ olim Comitibus, genus deducit suum: propinquiori vero gradu ab alio Edwardo

Montagu, equite aurato, Domino Placitorum Communium quondam Justiciario, cujus pronepotes in lineâ rectâ (ultra tres pronepotes eorundem sorores, honorificè nuptas) fuerunt Edwardus, nuper Baro Montagu, de Boughton, vir heroicæ et priscæ probitatis; Gualterus Montagu, miles; Henricus Comes Mancestriæ, post penè omnia magistratûs vocabula percussa, quæ mereri possit togata virtus, Dominus Privati Sigilli Custos; Carolus Mountagu, eques auratus et officio militari laudabiliter functus; Jacobus Montague, reverendissimus Wintoniensis Episcopus; postremo autem Sidneius Montague miles, Libellorum Supplicium Magister, istius Edwardi pater: cumque idem Edwardus, genus virtute superans, postquam summam totius classis Anglicanæ gubernationem antea divisam adeptus esset propter egregiam indolem, et solus et admodum adolescens, arreptâ ansâ, ita nautarum sensim animos inflexerit, ut marinam feritatem exuerint, et in obedientiam pristinam, singulari nostri amore, incredibili voluptate redierint; interim in fluxu maris, contribuente non parum refluxui terrarum regnorum trium; quorum (ut orbis magni) fundamenta Deus posuit super aquas: undè præfatus consiliarius noster retulit naves, retulit portus, retulit maria, altera regna (claves, portas, mœnia Britanica) nos demum, in operis coronidem, et charissimos fratres nostros retulit Britanniæ, acceptos Skevelingis Hollandicis in Regiam classem jubilantem et redditos Doroberniæ, duce scilicet et auspice Montacuto, quod nulla ætas tacebit: Sciatis igitur, quod nos de gratiâ nostrâ speciali, ac ex certâ scientâ et mero motu nostris, præfatum Edwardum Montague ad statum, gradum, stilum, titulum, dignitatem et honorem Baronis Mountague de St. Neots, in comitatu nostro Huntingtoniæ, ereximus, præfecimus et creavimus; ipsumque Edwardum Baronem Mountagu de St. Neots prædictâ, tenore præsentium erigimus, præficimus et creamus: eidemque Edwardo nomen, statum, gradum, stilum, dignitatem, titulum et honorem Baronis Mountagu de St. Neots prædictâ, imposuimus, dedimus et præbuimus, ac per præsentes pro nobis hæredibus et successoribus nostris, damus, imponimus et præbemus; habendum et tenendum eidem nomen, statum, gradum, stilum, dignitatem, titulum et honorem Baronis Mountagu de St. Neots prædictâ, præfato Edwardo et hæredibus masculis de corpore suo legitimè exeuntibus in perpetuum. Volentes et per præsentes concedentes, &c.

Ac insuper pro consideratione prædictâ, de uberiori gratiâ nostrâ speciali, ac ex certâ scientia et mero motu

nostris, præfatum Edwardum Mountagu in honorem Vicecomitis Mountagu de Hinchinbrooke in dicto comitatu Huntingdoniæ ereximus, præfecimus et creavimus, ipsumque Edwardum in Vicecomitem de Hinchinbrooke prædictâ tenore præsentium erigimus, præficimus, constituimus et creamus: eidemque Edwardo nomen, stilum, et titulum Vicecomitis de Hinchinbrooke prædictâ imposuimus, dedimus, et præbuimus ac per præsentes imponimus, damus, et præbemus; habendum et tenendum statum, gradum, dignitatem, stilum, nomen, et honorem Vicecomitis de Hinchinbrooke prædictâ, præfato Edwardo et hæredibus suis masculis de corpore suo exeuntibus in perpetuum. Volentes, &c.

Ac insuper pro consideratione prædicta, de uberiori gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris, præfatum Edwardum Mountagu in Comitem de Sandwich in comitatu nostro Kanciæ, necnon ad statum, gradum, stilum, titulum, dignitatem, nomen et honorem Comitis de Sandwich ereximus, præfecimus, insignivimus, constituimus et creavimus; ipsumque Edwardum in Comitem de Sandwich, necnon ad statum, gradum, stilum, titulum, dignitatem, nomen et honorem Comitis de Sandwich prædictâ, tenore præsentium erigimus, præficimus, insignimus, constituimus, et creamus; eidemque Edwardo, statum, gradum, stilum, titulum, dignitatem, nomen et honorem Comitis de Sandwich prædictâ imposuimus, dedimus, et præbuimus, ac per præsentes imponimus, damus, et præbemus, ac ipsum Edwardum hujusmodi statu, gradu, stilo, titulo, dignitate, nomine et honore Comitis de Sandwich, per gladii cincturam, capæ honoris et circuli aurei impositionem investimus, et realiter nobilitamus per præsentes; habendum et tenendum nomen, statum, gradum, stilum, titulum, dignitatem, nomen et honorem Comitis de Sandwich, cum omnibus et singulis præeminentiis, honoribus, cæterisque hujusmodi statui, gradui, stilo, titulo, dignitati, nomini, et honori Comitis pertinentiis sive spectantibus præfato Edwardo et hæredibus masculis de corpore suo exeuntibus in perpetuum: Volentes, &c.

Et quia crescente statûs celsitudine necessariò crescunt sumptus et onera grandiora, ac ut idem Edwardus et hæredes masculi de corpore suo exeuntes, juxta dicti nominis Comitis de Sandwich decentiam et statum sic nobilitati melius decentius et honorificentius se habere, ac onera ipsis incumbentia manutenere et supportare valeant, et eorum quilibet valeat, ideo de uberiori gratia nostra

speciali, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris, dedimus et concessimus, ac per presentes pro nobis, hæredibus et successoribus nostris damus et concedimus præfato Edwardo, et hæredibus masculis de corpore suo exeuntibus in perpetuum, annualem redditum viginti librarum legalis monetæ Angliæ singulis annis percipiendum ad Receptum Scaccarii nostri, hæredum et successorum nostrorum, per manus commissionariorum pro thesauro nostro, vel thesaurarii et camerariorum nostrorum, hæredum et successorum nostrorum pro tempore existentium, ad festa Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, et Annunciationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis, per æquales portiones annuatim solvendum. Volumus etiam, &c., absque fine in hanaperis, &c. Eo quod expressa mentio, &c. In cujus, &c. Teste, &c.—xij. Julii anno regni nostri duodecimo.

From the original in the Bodleian Library.

[Endorsed in Pepys's handwriting—"Given me by Mr W. Belcher, a copy of what was reade in the pulpitt at Bow."]

July the 29th, 1666.

The Dutch totally routed.

14 Ships taken.

26 burnt and sunck.

2 Flagg ships taken, and out of them 1200 men, and what else they would, then sunck them.

Taken in all 6000 men.

Oure shipps have blockt up the Zealanders in Flushing, and ride before them top and top gallant.

The Dutch Fleet are gott into the Texell, and wee ride before the same.

The Lord Maior ordered thanks to be given this forenoon throughout the City.

Inscription on Mrs. Pepys's monument in the Church of St. Olave, Hart Street, Crutched Friars.

H. S. E.
Cui
Cunas dedit SOMERSETIA, Octob: 23, 1640.
Patrem e præclarâ familiâ de S^t^ Michel, ANDEGAVIA,
Matrem e nobili Stirpe Cliffodorum, CUMBRIA,
ELIZABETHA PEPYS,
Samuelis Pepys (Classi Regiæ ab Actis) Uxor.
Quæ in Cænobio primum, Aulâ dein educata Gallicâ,

Utriusque unà claruit virtutibus.
Formâ, Artibus, Linguis, cultissima.
Prolem enixa, quia parem non potuit, nullam.
Huic demum placidè cum valedixerat
(Confecto per amæniora ferè Europæ itinere)
Potiorem abiit redux lustratura mundum.
Obiit 10 Novembris,
Anno { Ætatis 29. / Conjugii 15. / Domini 1669.

Arms. — Sable, on a Bend Or., between two Nags' Heads erased Argent, three Fleurs de Lis of the First; impaling Ermine, three Roses.

William Hewer, so often mentioned in the preceding pages, was interred in the old Church at Clapham, where the monument erected to his memory is thus described in Manning and Bray's Surrey, vol. iii., page 365.

"On the North wall,[1] on a large marble scroll under two angles holding the bust of a man, with an anchor over the arms, at each bottom corner. Sable, 2 Talbots' Heads, erased in pale Or., between as many Flanches Ermine.[2] H. S. E. Gulielmus Hewer de Clapham, Armiger, filius Thomæ Hewer Londinensis, natus Londini, Nov^r 17, 1642, Regibus Carolo et Jacobo 2^dis a faustissimo utriusque in patriam reditu 1660, ad infelicem alterius Angliâ discessum, servus diligens, fidelis, dilectus. Qui multa et perquam difficilia obivit munera, obeundis omnibus par. De Tingitani propugnaculi conservatione, quamdiu illud conservari voluit Rex optimus, de eodem tandem diruendo, cum id videbatur maximè expedire, probè curavit publici æris administer. Eorum quæ ad maritima spectarent negotia ita gnarus erat et expertus, ut inter Classis Regiæ Curatores et Præpositos optimo jure conscriberetur; in iis quæ commercio promovendo inservirent, ita perspicax erat et indefessus, ut mercaturæ ad Indos Orientales unâ cum viris in re mercatoriâ primariis multoties præficeretur. In singulis quæ ubique gessit officiis, id potissimum sibi proposuit, ut Principis honori et patriæ emolumento jugiter consuleret. Ecclesiæ Angli-

[1] The North Aisle, with a Gallery at the west end of it, carrying it from the North Transept to the west end of the Nave, was added by Mr. Hewer about the year 1715.

[2] The arms, as given in a plate inscribed to this Gentleman in Blome's Bible, are, Party per pale Gules and Vert, on a Chevron Or., between three Mountain Cats passant proper, as many Garbs of the First.—*Note to Manning and Bray's Surrey.*

canæ institutis et disciplinæ per universum vitæ cursum firmiter et tenaciter adhæsit. In Deo colendo sine fuco assiduus, in pauperibus sublevandis sine ostentatione beneficus, in amicis et convivis excipiendis facilis . . . . . et sine luxu hospitalis. Ad annos tres ultra septuagesimum, vitam duxit innocentem, utilem, cælibem, mortique piè succubuit Dec^r 3, 1715. Hewer Edgeley Hewer,[1] Armiger, quem vir laudatus sanguine sibi conjunctum filii loco habuit, et hæredem ex testamento reliquit, monumentum hoc exiguum gratitudinis suæ indicium posuit.

"At the General Election in 1685, Mr. Hewer was chosen one of the members for Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight.—*Chamberlayne's Angliæ Notitia.*"

B. L.] *My Father's Will.*

[Indorsement by S. Pepys.]

Memorandum. That I, John Pepys of Ellington, in the County of Huntingdon, Gent^n, doe declare my mind in the disposall of my worldly goods as followeth:

First, I desire that my lands and goods left mee by my brother, Robert Pepys, deceased, bee delivered up to my eldest son, Samuell Pepys, of London, Esq^r, according as is expressed in the last Will of my brother Robert aforesaid.

Secondly, As for what goods I have brought from London, or procured since, and what moneys I shall leave behind me or due to me, I desire may be disposed of as followeth:

Imprimis, I give to the stock of the poore of the parish of Brampton, in which church I desire to be enterred, five pounds.

Item. I give to the poore of Ellington forty shillings.

Item. I desire that my two grandsons, Samuell and John Jackson, have ten pounds a piece.

Item. I desire that my daughter, Paulina Jackson, may have my largest silver tankerd.

Item. I desire that my son John Pepys may have my gold seale-ring.

Lastly. I desire that the remainder of what I shall leave be equally distributed between my sons Samuel and John Pepys and my daughter Paulina Jackson.

All which I leave to the care of my eldest son Samuel Pepys, to see performed, if he shall think fit.

In witness hereunto I set my hand.

[1] Son of the Rev. Samuel Edgeley, Rector of Wandsworth, and a Prebendary of St. Paul's, whom Manning calls Archdeacon Edgeley.

B.L. orig.]

[Endorsed—"Decemb. 16th, 1688. His H. the P. of Orange's Order from Windsor, to the Lord Dartmouth about the disposeing of the Fleete."]

It being for the service of the nation, we doe require you to leave under the command of S^r^ John Berry, Knight, the shipps of warr and fier-ships mentioned in the margen, at Spitthead;[1] in which Order to him you are to direct and require that he be very carefull to send, from time to time, two or more frigets to cruce on this coast, as he shall judge most fitting, to prevent any affrount that may be committed by the French or others; you are also to direct him to be very strickt not to suffer any vessel to sayle out of Portsmouth harbour with suspected persons on board; you are to supply the squadron you leave there, out of your fleet, what provision you can with safety to yourselves spare; and, so soon as you have given your necessary orders in these matters, you are forthwith, wind and weather permitting, to sayle with the rest of the ships of warr, fier-ships, and tenders, not named in this Order, to the Boy of the North,[2] unles such of the fleet as you shall judge not fitt for the sea, and in that case you are to order them into Portsmouth harbour, where they are to stay for further orders from us. 'Tis our pleasure, that you immediately send an Order to the Commissioner of that place, that there be a stopp putt and nothing further done towards the fitting out of any ships or vessels of warr in that harbour of Portsmouth, till our further pleasure be known; and also you are to give a generall Order to the proper officers of the fleet in those parts, that no more men be listed or entertained on board any of the men of warr, fier-ships, or tenders; and so soon as you arrive at the Boy of the Nore, you are to signifie the same to the Secretary of the Navy. And for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given under my Hand and Seal, the 16th of December, 1688.

L.S. G. PRINCE D'ORANGE.

B.L.] *S. Pepys's account of Mr. Meheux's singular memory.*

Saturday, September 10, 1698.

This day, at my table, Lord Clarendon, Captain Hatton,

[1] Elizabeth, St. Albans, Dover, St. David, Tiger, Mary, Deptford, Swallow, Portsmouth, Bristoll, Richmond fier-ship, Defyance, Constant Warwick, Woolwich, Pearle.

[2] *Quære*, Nore?

D^r^ Smith, and I, each successively at his pleasure, dictated 60 independent words set down in numerical order, to M^r^ Meheux; which, after a silent pause of about eight minutes, he repeated in the same order backwards and forwards. He also answered our demands, of any of them singly, by their number only, out of all order; and this without the least failure, or so much as hesitancy, saving only that, in his first recital, he stopped at the word budget, which, in repeating the words backwards immediately afterwards, he quoted right. Nor did he stint as to any number of words, inviting us to go on beyond 60, which we thought abundantly enough. Memorandum, that he objected to the word Heautontimoroumenos, not for its length, but praying that each word might be significative of something which he understood. Captain Hatton, who had seen the like experiment in France, asking him whether his making another trial presently upon a fresh set of words would not entirely efface the memory of the first, which was the case with *him* in France, he said it would not, if he proposed to himself the remembering of the former; and he was now ready to have given us a proof of it, had we insisted on it. S. P.

B.L.] *Extract from a paper without date.*

[Endorsed—"The Coffee-House-Paper, wherein y^e^ scandalous intelligence touching M^r^ Pepys."]

"On Tuesday last, M^r^ Peeps went to Windsor, having y^e^ confidence y^t^ he might kisse y^e^ Kings hand; and being at Court, mett the Lord Chamberlain and made his complent to his Lordshipp. But his Lordshipp told him y^t^ he wondered he should presume to come to Court before he had cleared himselfe, being charged with treason; whose answer was, his innocency was such, that he valued not anything he was charged with; soe parted with his Lordshipp: but by the favour of some courtiers, he was brought into y^e^ King's presence; but so soone as his Maj^tie^ saw him, he frowned and turned aside, shewing his dislike of seeing him there."

The Diploma sent by the University of Oxford to Mr. Pepys,

Upon his presenting the Portrait of Dr. Wallis to their Picture Gallery, October, 1702.

Ornatissimo, Optimoque, Viro SAMUELI PEPYS, Armi-

gero, Regibus Carolo Secundo et Jacobo Secundo a Secretis Admiraliæ, Universitas Oxoniensis.

Te de litteris optimè mereri (Vir ornatissime !) si non multis aliis, hoc uno argumento probari possit, quod litteratorum honori tam impensè faves : certè ante oculos gratissimum simul atque splendidissimum munificentiæ vestræ atque in nos benevolentiæ exemplum quotidie cum laude tuā observabitur, neque in doctissimi Professoris imagine ipsam quasi depictam mathematicen, insolitamque animi vestri descriptam benignitatem satis unquam mirabimur. Et quidem præclaræ indolis est posse magnum Wallisium in pretio habere, qui nihil unquam vulgare aut sapuit, aut fecet, tendit in altos multâ aurâ litterarum tractus, sublimesque aperit mathematum vias, cœlis proximus quos metitur, et sideribus stellisque quorum numerus ejus arithmeticæ patet, omnesque nisi Lynceum atque Aquilinum oculum fugit. Tu solertissimus tam cœlestis ingenii æstimator, dum tantum in alio meritum suspicis, et dum tam eximii, tam perspicacis in rebus abstrusissimis Viri similitudinem nobis proponis, egregiæ mentis tuæ erigis immortalitatem : non illius formæ atque titulis tantum, verum famæ etiam nomen tuum inscribis, et quantus sis non obscurè inde judicare possumus, quod talem Virum Genti nostræ, et litterati Orbis tam grande ornamentum, in amicum tibi cooptasti ; pulchrè similes unit amor, atque in eâdem tabulâ in secula juncti vivatis, utrique perpetuis nostris encomiis dignissimi, quorum alter Academiam exornat, alter ipsum ornantem. At non a solâ istius tabulæ diuturnitate utriusque immortalitas æstimanda est. Illum Motûs Leges et quicquid uspiam cœli terrarumque ab humanâ mente capi, quædam quæ a solâ Wallisianâ inveniri possunt non morituris descripta voluminibus omnium temporum admirationi consecravere ; patet vero in laudes tuas ipse Oceanus, quem illâ tam bene instructâ classe contravisti, quæ et potentissimorum hostium, et voracissimorum fluctuum iras potuit contemnere. Tu felicioribus quam ullus unquam Dædalus armamentis naves tuas firmasti, ut navigantium non tantum gloriæ, fuerint, vèrum etiam saluti. Tu certè Ligneis Muris Britanniam munivisti, et quod ad utrumque Polum (sive quiddam novi exploraturi, sive victoriam circumferentes) vela nostri explicare potuissent, sola tua cura effecit. Alii res arduas mari aggredi ausi sunt, tuum vero profundius ipso Oceano ingenium audaces reddidit ; quod mirâ arte, sive passis velis sive contractis ageretur, excogitavit ut id tuto poterant præstare. Aliorum virtuti forsan debemus,

ut res magnæ agerentur, sed ut agi potuissent, propria gloria est industriæ tuæ. Fruere ergo felix hâc parte laudis tuæ, quæ tamdiu duratura est, quamdiu erit in usu Pyxis nautica, aut cursus suos peragent Sidera: quam quidem (omissis aliis rebus a quibus immortali gloriâ viges) ideo tantum memoramus, ne sis nescius probè nos scire, quanto a Viro benevolentia ista in nos conferatur, quam gratis animis amplectimur ut non plus debeant artes atque scientiæ Wallisio, neque Reges et Britannia tibi, quam ob hoc præclarum munus nos tibi obæratos læti sentimus, atque optamus ut hoc gratitudinis nostræ testimonium observatissimæ in te nostræ mentis viva imago parem cum vestrâ famâ perennitatis circulum describat, atque adeo sit æterna.

Datum in Domo Convocationis, Vicesimo tertio die Mensis Octobris, Anno Domini millesimo septingesimo secundo.

Sigillat: in Domo Convocationis, Vicesimo nono ejusdem Mensis Octobris, Annoque Domini supradict.

C.] *A List of all the Persons to whom Rings and Mourning were presented upon the occasion of Mr. Pepys's Death and Funeral.*

	PERSONS.	Rings of 20s.	Rings of 15s.	Rings of 10s.	Mourning.
Relations, viz.	Mr. Saml and John Jackson, his 2 Nephews	v. v			v v 6 10 Brd. Pieces to Samuel
	Captain St. Michel, his brother-in-law	v			v
	Ditto, his daughter, Mrs. Mary		v		v
	E. of Sandwich	v.			
	Dr. Montagu, Dean of Durham	v.			
	Mr. Pickering	v.			
	Mr. Roger Pepys, of Impington		v.		
	Mr. and Mrs. Mathews	v. v.			v v &c. 10 Br. Pieces to each.
	Mr. Tim Turner, Minister of Tooting		v		
	Mr. Bellamy		v		
Godchildren, viz.	Mr. Saml Gale—M. P.'s godson		v.		
	Lt. Edwards Ditto			v.	
	Mrs. Frances Johnson, his goddaughter		•		
	Mrs. Mary Skynner	v			v
Domestics at his Death viz.	Ditto, her maid				v
	His own 7 men and women servants				v v v v v v v
	Mr. Richard Gibson		v		
	Mr. Paul Lorrain		v		
	Ditto, his Wife			v.	
	John Wetton			v.	
	Saml Holcroft			v.	
	Carried over	9	8	4	15

	PERSONS.	Rings of 20s.	Rings of 15s.	Rings of 10s.	Mourning.
	Brought over	9	8	4	15
Mr. Pepys's former servants and dependents, viz.	Mrs. Jane Penny			v	v 65 Gns.
	Mrs. Jane Fane		v.		
	Mrs. Mary Ballard				v
	Ditto, her Husband			v.	
	Mrs. Eliza Hughson				v
	Ditto, her Husband			v.	
Retainers General, viz.	Physicians — Dr. Sloane	v			v
	Physicians — Dr. Shadwell	v			v
	Chirurgeon, Serjt Bernard	v			
	Apothecary, Mr. Ethersey		v		v
	Lawyer, Judge Powis		v.		
	Scrivener, Mr. West		v.		
	Ditto, his Clerk, Mr. Martin			v.	
	Goldsmith, Sr Rd Hoare	v			
	Ditto, his Foreman, Mr. Arnold		v		
	Bookbinder, Mr. Beresford			v.	
	Ditto, his Sewer, Mr. Wetton			v.	
	Self, as Executor	v			v
	Edgley, Mr. Saml and Mrs.	v v			v v
	Edgley, Do., their 3 Children		v v v		
	Edgley, Mr. Arthur		v		v v v
	Blackbourn, Mr. Wm and Isaac		v v		
M. Hewer's Relations.	Crawley, Mrs. the Mother		v		
	Crawley, Ditto, 2 Daughters, Eliz. and Margaret		v v		
	Sergison, Mr. —— Mr. John vid. Navy-office				
Domestics.	Mr. Forbes, Chaplain		v		
	Mr. Foster, Steward				v
	Ditto, his Wife			v.	
Clapham.	Mr. Saville, the Minister		v		
	Mr. Horne, late Lecturer		v		
	Mr. Pritchard, present Ditto		v		
	Mr. Urban Hall		v		
	Mr. Juxon		v		
Royal.	Sir John Hoskins, Vice President		v.		
	Mr. Abraham Hill		v.		
	Mr. Hunt, Operator			v.	
Society's Cambridge.	Dr. Quadring, Master of Magdalene College				
	Dr. Bentley, Master of Trinity College	v.			
	Dr. Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church	v.			
Oxford.	Dr. Wallis, Professor	v.			
	Dr. Gregory, Ditto	v.			
	Dr. Charlett, Master of University College	v.			
Admiralty.	Mr. Burchett, Secretary	v.	v		
	Sir Thos. Littleton, Treasurer, a Supporter				
	Sir Richard Haddock, Controller	v	v		v.
	Mr. Furzer, Surveyor		v		
	Mr. Sergison, Clerk of the Acts		v		
	Mr. Atkins		v		v.
Commissioners.	Mr. Tollett		v		
	Mr. Hammond		v		
	Mr. Lyddall		v		
Officers.	Mr. Greenhill		v		
	Mr. Timewell		v		
Navy Clerks.	Mr. Johnson		v		
	Mr. John Crawley		v		
	Carried over	23	42	12	30

	PERSONS.	Rings of 20s.	Rings of 15s.	Rings of 10s.	Mourning.
	Brought over	23	42	12	30
	Housekeeper, Mrs. Griffin			v.	
Auditors.	Principal, Mr. Harley	v.			
	Principal, Mr. Bridges	v.			
	Deputys, Mr. Moody			v.	
	Deputys, Mr. Blythell			v.	
Clergy.	Archbishop of Canterbury	v.			
	Bishop of London	v.			
	Dean of Worcester, Dr. Hickes, who performed the Service	v			v
	Dr. Smith	v			v
	Dr. Millington		v		
	Dr. Gibson		v.		
	Archdeacon Baynard		v		
	Mr. Coppin, Minister of Crutched Fryers		v		
	Ditto, his Reader		v		
	Earl of Clarendon, a Supporter	v			v
	Earl of Feversham, Ditto	v			v
	Honble Mr. Hatton, Ditto	v			v
	Honble Mr. Vernon, Ditto	v			
Sir	Antº Deane Ditto	v			
	Wm Hodges	v			
	Ditto, his Son, Mr. Hodges		v		
	Ditto, his Partner, Mr. Haines		v		
	Sir Henry Shere		v.		
	Sir Richard Dutton	v.			
	Sir William Gore		v		
	Bowdler, Thomas		v		v
Laiety.	Dégalénière, Monsr et Madlle		v. v.		
	Dubois, Charles		v.		
	Evelyn, John, Grandfather and Grandson	v.			v Grandfather
	Gawden, Benjamin		v		
	Houblon, Wynne and James	v v			v v
	Houghton, Apothecary		v		
	Hunter, Samuel		v		v
Mr.	Isted		v.		
	Lowndes	v.			
	Martin, Joseph, Father and Son		v v		
	Monro			v	
	Mussard		v		
	Nelson		v		
	Penn, William	v.			
	Snow, Ralph		v.		
	Wind, Captain	v			
	Memorandum.—That 2 of the Rings placed in the 15s Column were of the 20s sort, and given to 2 (but which uncertain) of the 17 Persons thus marked, v; so that the true number of each sort distributed, either at the Funeral or since, to this 31st Decr, 1710, has been provided as per Sir R. Hoare's account thereof.	45	62	16	
		46	62	20	
	Rings distributed *ut supra*	45	62	16	
	Remaining in J. J.'s[1] hands, accompanying monumental pieces of gold	1		4	

Memorandum.—Also, That to the Persons thus marked, v., the rings, &c. were delivered or sent as opportunity served; the rest were present at the Funeral.

Memorandum.—That Tickets were likewise directed to the following Persons, who

[1] John Jackson.

did not come to the Funeral, nor had Rings; some of them being then at Sea, and others in the Country, viz.—

Admiralty. { Sir George Rook, Mr. Bridges, Mr. Hill, Mr. Churchhill, Sir David Mitchell } Council.
Mr. Clerk, Secretary.

Navy. { Sir Cloudesly Shovel, Sir Thomas Hopson } Commissioners.

Friends, indefinite. { Colonel Graham, Mr. Henry Thynne, Mr. Blaithwait, Mr. Southwell, Sir Benjamin Bathurst, Captain David Lloyd.

Mr. Pepys's Verbal Request, after Execution of his Will, viz.

Money.—To be distributed amongst Mr. Hewer's Servants . . . £20.

In Plate to { Mrs. Skynner, Mr. Hewer, and J. J., 50 pounds worth each, made good to them as per Schedules and Receipts. Mr. West, some small Piece, made good to him by large pair of Tumblers, weighing 23oz. 10dwts.

Pictures and Goods to Mrs. Skynner, as per Schedules and Receipt.

Voluntary Presents and Benevolences, distributed per J. J., in respect to Mr. Pepys's Memory, viz.

The Poor of { Clapham, where he died . . . £5 0 0
the Parish of { Crutched Fryars, where he was buried . 10 0 0 } £63 12 0

To { Several Relations, Friends, Former Servants and others, as per J. J.'s particular account thereof, delivered to Mr. Hewer, amounting in 17 articles to 48 12 0
Messrs. Wynne and James Houblon, their Father's, Mother's, and Grandfather's Pictures.
Monsieur Dégalénière, the 1st Edition of Bayle's Dictionary, in Two Vols., fol.

B.L.] *June* 24, 1672.—*The Disposition of the severall Places attending the Funerall of the Earle of Sandwich, and the Persons designed thereto.*

The Chiefe Mourner.
Earle of Manchester.

Two Supporters.
Earle of St. Albans.
E. of Oxford.

Trainbearer to the Chiefe Mourner.
Peter Crowne.

Assistants.

Earle of Bedford.
E. of Bridgwater.
E. of Essex.
E. of Anglesey.[1]
E. of Suffolk.
E. of Northampton.
E. of Bath.
E. of Shaftesbury.

[1] In case the Earle of Sandwich be here before the solemnity, the Earle of Manchester to be instead of Earle of Anglesey.

Supporters of the Pall.

Lord Clifford. Mr. George Montagu.
Mr. Vicechamberlaine. Lord Clifford.

To carry the Standard.

Sir Henry Sanderson.

A Guidon.

Mr. Creed.

The Great Banner.

Sir John Pickering.

The Six Bannerrolles.

Mr. Samuel Pepys. Mr. Talbot Pepys.
Mr. Sidney Pickering. Sir Charles Harbord.
Sir Charles Cotterell. Mr. Wm. Harbord.

Steward, Mr. Edw. Jolly.
Treasurer, Mr. Lowd Cordell.
Comptroller, Mr. John Vallavin.
Secretary, Mr. Wm. Ferrer.

Chaplains.

Mr. Fullwood.
Mr. Turner.

Physitian and Chyrurgeon.

Dr. Knight, of Langerfort.[1]

To carry the Flagg.

Mr. Wm. Montagu, Sonn of Mr. Attorney Montagu.
Bishop of Oxford.
20 Servants.

Sam. Bonner. 50 Old Men.
John Bonner. 12 Trumpeters.
Thomas Peck. 6 Drummers, besides Bargemen.

Mr. John Gering.

Depositum prænob. EDVARDI
Comitis de SANDWICH, &c.
Freti Britannici Thalassiarchæ,
Qui in Navali illo
Conflictu acerrimo
Adversùs Batavos occubuit
28 die mensis Maii
A° D^{i} 1672.

[1] Languard Fort.

PEDIGREE OF THE FAMILY OF PEPYS,

ROBERT PEPYS, of co. Camb. =

WM. PEPYS, of Cottenham, yeoman; only son; will dat. 20 Mar. 1518; prov. 20 May, 1519; bur. at Cottenham = MARG., dau. of Robt. Whyston, of co. Camb., 1518; dat. 4 Jan. 1529; prov. at Ely; bur. at Cottenham.

1. THOS. PEPYS, of Cottenham, afd.; son and heir; will[1] dat. 8 April, and prov. 4 May, 1521. = CLEMENCE; dau. of Nicholas Thurlowe; m. ante 1518.

1. NICHOLAS. — 2. RICHARD.

AGNES. — MARGARET.

CLEMENCE. — DOROTHY.

All minors, 1518.

ROB. PEPYS; 1589. = GEORGE PEPYS; 1589. =

JOHN, 1589. — GEORGE; 1589.

4. THOMAS PEPYS, the younger, some time of Cottenham, co. Cambr., and also of Eaton, co. ——; d. long ante 1641. = KEZIA, his widow, 1641.

2. ROBERT PEPYS; d. s.p.; will dat. 4 May, 1630; prov. at Cambridge; vinc. Cambridge, 168, c. 11, 32.

ROBERT PEPYS, of Brampton, co. Hunts, Esq., will dated 1657; prov. 23 Aug. 1661. = ——, wid. of ——; living, 1657.

THOMAS PEPYS, of London, gent.; b. 1595; heir-at-law of his bro. Rob., 1657; will dated 2 Feb. 1664; prov. 16 Aug. 1676. = MARY; 1664, 1676.

JOHN PEPYS, cit. of London, after of Brampton afd., where he removed, 1661; d. 1680; admn. granted 19 Oct. that year to his son Samuel. = MARGARET, dau. of ——; m. at Newington, Surrey, 15 Oct. 1626; d. 1666-7.

MARY; b. 16 Mar. 1597; m. John Holcroft of Balderton, co. Notts, who was æt. 67, 1662.

EDITH; b. 11 Oct. 1599.

A dau. —— Bell, b living, 1657; s died of plague 1665.

1. THOMAS PEPYS; 1657, 1664, 1700. = 2. CHARLES PEPYS; 1657, 1664, 1701, of Chatham, co. Kent, joiner; will dat. 6th Feb., 1700; prov. 22 Jan. 1701.

MARY; d. unm. after 1662 and before 1676.

MARY; b. 24 July 1627.

PAULINA; b. 18 Sep. 1628; d. ante 1640.

ESTHER; b. 27 May, 1630.

JOHN PEPYS; b. 16 Jan. 1631; d. ante 1641.

SAMUEL PEPYS, eldest surviving son; b. at Brampton, 23 Feb. 1632; some time of Trin. Coll.; after of Magd. Coll., Cam., Sec. to the Admiralty; P.R.S., etc.; d. s.p. 26 May, 1703, at Clapham; bur. at St. Olave, Hart St., 4 June. = ELIZ. ST. MICHEL; b. at Bideford, Som.; m. Oct. 1655; d. 9; bur. at St. Olave's, HartSt., 13 Nov. 1669

THOMAS PEPYS; 18 June 1634; d. Lond., and v buried March, 1663-4.

SARAH; b. 25 Aug. 1635.

JACOB PEPYS; b. 1 May, 1637.

ROBERT PEPYS; b. 18 Nov. 1638.

PAULINA; b. 18 Oct. 1640; m. —— 1667-8, John Jackson. *See Table II.* (p. 424.)

REV. JOHN PEPYS, Clerk of the Acts to the Navy; b. 26 Nov. 1641; d. 1677.

1 Wife. —— dau. of —— Burridge. = 1. RICHARD PEPYS of ——; 1722, Attorney-at-law; ob. 1740. = SARAH;[2] relict of Spencer Piggott; will dat. 13 Aug. 1741; pr. 19 Nov. 1741.

3. SAMUEL; d. unmar. before May, 1722.

4. THOMAS PEPYS; living unm. at Ridgwell, before 14 May, 1722.

2. JOHN PEPYS, of St. Dunstan's, West London; adm. 12 Jan. 1749-50. = MARY SMITH; adm. 9 Jan. 1765 to her dau.

ARABELLA; m. Isaac Strutt; living, 1759.

RICHARD PEPYS; living at —— co. York; unmar. 1759; d. unmar. 1787, at ——.

EDMUND PEPYS, of Southampton Street, Bloomsbury; ——; living 1770. = S. TRIGUET.

WILLIAM PEPYS; JANE; or MARY; wife of Wm. Franks, of Percy St., 1770.

JOHN PEPYS, of Lower Berkeley Street. = S. BOND.

EDMUND PEPYS; of Oriel Coll., Oxon.

SIR WM. WELLER PEPYS, Bart., eld. son and h. apar.; b. in Wimpole St., aforesd, 4 May, 1778; d. 1845, unm.

CHAS. TOPHER PEPYS, 2 son; b. April 29, 1781; cr. Lord Cottenham, 1836; Lord High Chancellor. = CHRISTINE, dau. of Willm. Wingfield, Mast. in Chancery; m. 1821.

HENRY PEPYS, 3 son; b. 18 Apr. 1783; Bp. of Worcest; m. 27 Jan. 1824.

MARIA SULIVAN, 5th dau. of Rt. Hon. John and Lady Harriet S.

MARI ELIZ. eld. da b. in Wimpo St. 12 Oct. 17

CHARLOTTE MARIA; b. May 2, 1822

FRANCES MARY; b. Apr. 14, 1823.

CHAS. EDWARD; b. Apr. 30, 1824; clerk of the Crown, Chancery Ct.

WILLM. JOHN; b. Aug. 15, 1825.

CAROLINE; b. 7 June, 1827.

LOUISA; b. July 18, 1828; d. March 28, 1831.

EMILY HARRIET; b. Aug. 21, 1829.

HENRY LESLIE; b. b. Nov. 28, 1830.

GEOR.; b. 21 July, 1832.

ADELAIDE; LUCY; *twins;* b. Feb. 23, 1834; d. infants.

4 Aug. 1835.

FREDERICK; b. 27,

EL TH RE b.

3. WILLIAM PEPYS, of Cottenham, 1541. = ALICE; dau. of John Smith, of Wighton, Norf.

DITH; dau. and sole heir of Edm. Talbot, of Cottenham, and of St. Clements, Camb.; a minor and unmar. 1546. = JOHN PEPYS, of Cottenham; will (in which he directs to be bur. at Cottenham) dat. 2 July; prov. 26 Nov. 1589; bur. at Cottenham 16 July 1589. = ANNE JENISON, his wife, 1589; m. at Cottenham, 11 Oct. 1587. WILLM. PEPYS; = WILLM., 1589. THOS. PEPYS; 1541. RICH. PEPYS; 1541. CATHERINE; 1541. MARG.; 1541.

THOMAS; called the Black; d. unmarried. 5. APOLLO PEPYS, of Hinchingbrook; bapt. at Cottenham, 8 Feb. 1575; d. unm.; will dat. 16 Nov. 1641, codicil, 24 Oct. 1644; prov. 2 Jan. 1644-5. 1. JOHN PEPYS, of Cottenham; d. 20 Mar., 3 Jas. Inq., p.m., 1 Aug. fol.; bur. at Cottenham 21 Mar. 1604. = ELIZ., dau. of John Bendish, of Bower Hall, Bumsted, Essex; rem. at Cottenham, 1608; bur. there, 1642. 1st. husb. = 2 husb. RICHARD CRACROFT, of Cracroft; after of Cottenham: living, 1608-1619.

DITH; apt. at Cottenham, 16 Mar. 1591; d. ante 17 July Williams, of Cotm. ELLEN; m. 1 Jan. 1617, at Cotm. Geo. Beck, of Lolworth, Camb. 1. JOHN PEPYS, bapt. there, 3 May, 1587; found heir to his father, & æt. 17, 1 Aug. 3 Jas.; living 1619; d. s.p. = ELIZ.; dau. of John Wicksted, Ald. of Camb.; m. ante 1619. JUDITH; dau. of —— Cutts, of co. Camb. = 2. RICH.[3] b. ante 1589; adm. 30 July, 1660, to his son Richard. = MARY; dau. of Capt. Wm. Gosnold; will dat. 13 Aug. 1659; then wid. of R.P.; prov. 10 Oct. 1660.[4] 3 THOS. PEPYS, of Walsoken; bap. at Cottenham 1590; will dat. 17 Dec. 1617; prov. 31 Jan. fol.; d. s.p. 4. SAM. PEPYS, of Steeple Bumsted, Essex; bapt. at Cottenham, 1600; d. circ. 1665, æt. circ. 66. = MARG.; dau. and sole heir of Rich. Rooks of Swavesey, co. Camb.

RICH. PEPYS, dau. of John Scott, Water Beltchamp, co. Essex. = MARY, 2 dau. of Sir Rich. Pepys, of Cotshen, near Clare, Suf. 1664. GEORGE PEPYS, went to Surat, East Ind.; living there, 25 Dec. 1645; d. s.p.; will dat. 1 Sep. 1649; prov. 5 Sep. 1650. JOHN PEPYS; d. at Dublin, 1654, between 7 Nov. & 10 Dec. 4. SAM., in Ireland; lived at Dublin 1660. ELIZAB. and JUDITH; one Pepys. m. to Tho. of Strudwick; the other m. to Scott; both living at the 3 Sugar Loaves, Conduit, 30 Sep. 1678. 1. JOHN = THOMASINE, dau. of Joh. Symonds, and sister of Richard S., both of Yeldham. = THOMAS of Bardfield, Essex; d. 1662; æt. circ. 32. 2. Sam. d. unm. 1684. 3. ROB. 4. RICH. 5. WILL. } d. unm. 1. ELIZB.; m. Jerome Lacy, of Saffron Walden. 2. EDITH; m. Tho. Wright, of Denston, Suffolk, gentleman.

RICH. PEPYS, gent. son and heir; æt. 11, 1664; student of —— Coll., Cambr., 1674; settled at Warfield, Berks; d. unm. at Hackney, May, 1722; will dat. 14; prov. 25 same month. 2. JOHN PEPYS, cit. and clockmaker of London, 1664, 1678-9. = MARY GIBSON. 3. GEORGE PEPYS; 1664-1722. = MARY; 1664-1678. JOHN PEPYS, of Cambridge; æt. nearly 27 anno 1684; living, 1692. 1. ANNE; æt. 23, 1684. 2. ELIZABETH; æt. 21, 1684

1 Wife. SUSAN AUSTIN. = 1. WILLIAM PEPYS,[5] of Lombard St., Lond. banker; d. 29 Sep. 1743, æt. circ. 42; will dat. 24 Jan. 1741; prov. 29 Oct. 1743. = HANNAH WELLER, dau. of —— Russell, Lewes; wid. of Alex. Weller; d. 9 Nov. 1761; bur. at Totteridge, æt. 63. MARY; m. John Lucas, of the Inner Temple, Esq., d. s.p. 1752.

SIR WILLM. WELLER PEPYS,[6] of Wimpole St., Cavendish Sq., Middd.; b. 1 Jan. 1740, O.S.); cr. Bart. 1801; bap. in the par. of St. Mary Wolnoth, Lond. = ELIZ., dau. of Rt. Hon. Wm. Dowdeswell, of Pull Court, Worc., Chanc. of Exch.; m. at St. George's, Hanover Sq., 24 June, 1777; she d. 1830. JANE ELIZ., Countess of Rothes; m. first G. R. Evelyn Glanville, at Brighton, 31 Oct. 1772, by whom she had Geo. Wm., 10th Earl of Rothes; she d. June, 1810, æt. 68; bur. at Totteridge. = SIR LUCAS PEPYS,[7] M.D., F.R.S., F.A.S.; b. in St. Mary Wolnoth, Lond., 24 May, 1741; cr. Bart.; m. 30 Oct. 1772; d. Dec. 1830. = DEBORAH, d. of Anthony Askew, of Lond., M.D., F.R.S., &c.; b. 3 Mar. 1764.

REV. THOS. WHATELY; in holy orders; Vicar of Cookham. Berks. = ISABELLA SOPHIA PEPYS, 2 dau.; b. 3 July, 1785; m. 1813. ANNE LOUISA; 3 dau; b. 23 March, 1789. CHAS. LESLIE, eldest son, Bart.; b. Sept. 1774; d. s.p. 1832. HON. SIR HENRY LESLIE, Bart.; in holy orders; b. Sept. 1783. = ELIZ. JANE, dau. of Rev. James Oaks; d. 12 Dec. 1816, s.p. FREDERICK; d. an infant; bur. at St. Marylebone 9 July, 1779. MARY; d. an infant. WM. COURTENAY, Earl of Devon. = LADY HENRIETTA LESLIE; b. in St. Marylebone 25 May, 1777, & bapt. there 21 June fol.; d. 1839.

VEYN; Jan. 1839. WALTER COURTNEY; b. Nov. 27, 1840. A dau. still b. Apr. 21, 1843. PHILIP HENRY; b. Nov. 14, 1824; m. Dec. 14, 1848, Louisa Eleanor Anne, only d. of Col. and the Hon. Mrs. Disbrowe. AUGUSTUS; b. 1826; d. 1827. MARIA LOUISA; b. Nov. 17, 1827; m. Dec. 16, 1847, Rev. Edw. W. Ingram, of Ribtlesford, Worc. HENRIETTA ALBINIA; b. Apr. 2, 1829; d. June 9, 1842. HERBERT GEORGE; b. Oct. 28, 1830. ELIZ. GEORGIANA; b. Jan. 9, 1832; d. June 10, 1842. EMILY; b. Aug. 9, 1833. CONSTANCE; b. May, 1835; d. June 7, 1835.

BEATRIX, dau. of John Castle, of Ravingham, Norf., 1st wife. =6. TALBOT PEPYS, of Impington, Camb.; 2d wife, b. 31 Mar., and bap. at Cottenham, 2 Apr. 1583; adm. of Trinity Hall, Camb., 22 July, 1631; d. circ. 1665. =———, s.p.

ELIZ. EDITH; bap. at Cottenham 25 Oct. 1573; d. there unm.; adm. to her bror. John, 9 Sep. 1601; bur. at Cottenham.

SUSANNA, also called FAITH; m. at Cottenham, 1602, Rob. Beale, of Whittlesey, in the Isle of Ely, Camb. = †

PAULINA; m. Sir S ney Montagu, Ki Master of the R quests; she d. a 1641. = † EDWARD, first Ear Sandwich, K.G.

1 W. ANNE, dau. and heir of Luke Banks, of Beck Hall, Giggleswick, York; d. s.p. ante 16 Feb. 1641. =1. ROGER PEPYS; [8] living 1684, æt. 67.

2 W. BARBARA; [9] bur. at St. Gregory's, Norwich, 2 March, 1657.

2. JOHN PEPYS, of Cottenham, D.C.L., 1641, s.p. 1684; bur. at Cotten. 19 Aug. 1692; will dat. 2 Sep. 1691; pr. 11 Nov. 1692. =CATHERINE, dau. of ———, and wid. of Thos. Hobson, of Cottenham; bu. there 22 June, 1703.

3. THOMAS PEPYS, M.D., 1641, d. unm. at Impington; will dated 20 Aug. 1664; prov. 4 Feb. following.

PAULINA, 1641; m. R mond Cla ton of Boughton Norf.; liv 1664.

TALBOT PEPYS, of Impington, afd.; bap. 1646; d. 1681, æt. 35; adm. to his father, 15 Dec., 1681. =HANNAH, dau. of JOHN MAN, of Norwich; will dat. 3. Dec. 1690; prov. 3 Nov. 1692; directs to be bur. at St. Andrews, Norwich.

2. JOHN PEPYS, of Impington; æt. 29 1684; living 1691. =ELIZ., dau. of RICH. PEPYS, of Lond., and wid. of George Snowden, of Cleveland, co. York.

FRANCIS; bap. 1648; d. vita matris. ——— ROGER; bap. 1653; d. vita matris.

1. BARBARA, ———, m. Thos. Gale, D.D., Master of St. Paul's School, and Dean of York; who d. 1702; she d. 1689.

2. ELIZ.; ba 1651; m. 1 to Chas. Lo B.D., minis of Risby, Su both living, 1691.

ROGER PEPYS, of Impington; bap. 1667. =ANNE, dau. of Sir C. Turner, Bart.

BARBARA PEPYS; bapt. 1681.

SAMUEL KNIGHT, D.D., Prebendary of Ely; ob. 1746, æt. 72; archdeacon of Berks. =HANNAH PEPYS; bur. at Chippenham, 1719, æt. 39.

CHARLES PEPYS, of Impington; b. 1710; d. 1778, s.p. =——— æt. 83, 1805.

JOHN PINE, of East Down, co. Devon. =HANNAH ANNE PEPYS.

Several children died young.

2. JOHN PEPYS, Lord of Roses and of Southcreke, Norf., gent.; a minor, 1518; will (in which he directs to be bur. at Southcreke) dat. 10 May, 1541; pr. 11 Feb. 1541-2.

1 Wife. CECILY, dau. and heir of Jas. Steele, of Wyveton, Norfolk; living 1518; dec. ante 1541; bu. at Southcreke.

2 Wife ELIZ., wid. of —— Sturges, by whom she had issue; s.p. by Pepys; living 1541.

MARG.; m. Richard Boulter, of Southcreke; both living, 1518. = †

JANE; m. Thos. Jenyson, of Burnham Westgate, Norf., gent.; she living 1518. = †

ALICE; unm. 1518; called Alice Pepys, Jun., by her mother, 1529.

THOMAS PEPYS, of Southcreke, eldest son; a minor, 1541, but of age, 1546; will dat. 1 Oct. 1569; d. 20 Oct. 1569; bur. at Southcreke. = ALICE, dau. of Giles Seefoule, of Waterden, Norf.; re-mar. Rich. Mansner, of Holkham, Norf.; d. 1596.

CLEMENCE; m. 1st John Norton, of Southcreke; both living, 1541; and after to Willm. Whetley, of the same place, Esq., Chief Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas; she died 16 Feb. 1565.

AGNES; m. John Playford of Brunton, Norf.; both living, 1541. = †

AMY. — CECILY. — AUDREY. — JOAN. } 1541.

MARGARET; unmar. and under 24, 1541; m. Roger Grome, of Lanham, Suffolk.

ROGER PEPYS; 1569. THOS. RICHARD. died vita patris.

1. FERMOR PEPYS, of Southcreke, son and heir, 1569; b. 11 and bapt. 12 June, 1548. = FRANCES, dau. of John Drury, of Rougham, Suff., and some time of Godwick, Norf.; d. in childbed 19, and bur. 20 July, 1585.

2. JOHN PEPYS; 1569.

SUSAN; m. Roger Mansner, of Northcreke, Norf.

ELIZ., 1569; m. Robert Reade, of Lond. gent.

ANNE, 1569; m. Willm. Sherman, of Letlington, Camb.

KATHERINE; d. ante 1569. —— BARBARA, 1569; m. Roger Pepys, of Burnham, Norf., gent.

1. THOMAS PEPYS, of Southcreke, son and heir; b. 26 and bapt. 29 Aug. 1574; m. Jane, dau. of Sir John Dowdalle, of Ireland, Knt.; d. s.p. at Balenhowe, Ireland, 1623.

2. JOHN PEPYS, of Lond. and after of Ashstead, in Surr.; 2d son; adm. granted 1652; b. 5 and bapt. 8 Nov. 1576. = ANNE, dau. of Terry, or Tyrrell Walpole, of Houghton, Norf.

3. RICH.; b. 19 and bapt. 20 Feb. 1577; d. 4 May, 1580; bu. at Holkham, Norf.

4. EDMOND PEPYS; b. 23 Apr. 1579; m. Katherine, dau. of —— Warner, and wid. of —— Goldsmith.

5. FERMOR; s.p.; b. 25 June, 1581, and bapt. same day; some time of Mileham, Norf.; d. 22 Sep. 1660; æt. 79; bur. at Mileham; will dat. 2 Sep. 1659; prov. 16 Mar. 1667. = Jane, exex.

JOHN and two other children d. vit. pat.
WILLIAM P. } 1659.
FERMOR P. }
THOMAS P. 1659.
JANE, 1659.

6. FRANCIS; b. 29 Nov. and bap. 2 Dec. 1582; d. at Balenhowe in Ireland, s.p. 1620.

7. KNEVET; b. at Godwick, Nov. 1583, in the service of the Earl of Bath; d. in the West Country, Jan. 1611, s.p.

BARBARA; b. 21 and bapt. 24 Aug. 1575; m. Richard Norton, of Southcreke, gent. = †

2. ELEANOR; b. 19 and bapt. 20 July, 1585. m. Thomas Jenner, of Bynham, Norf., son and heir of Thos. Jenner, of same place.

1. EDWARD PEPYS, of the Middle Temple, Lond. and of Broomsthorpe, Norf., d. 22 Dec., 1663; æt. 46; bur. at Tatersete, Norf.; adm. 6 Feb. following. = ELIZ., dau. and coh. of John Walpole, of Broomsthorpe, aforesaid; adm. to her husb. 1664; d. 1668.

1. ELIZ.; m. Thos. Dyke, Esq.

2. JANE, aunt and coh. of Anne Pepys; m. ante 1664 John Turner, of Kirk Leatham, York;[10] elder bror. of Sir Wm. Turner, Ald. of Lond. Their dau., THEOPHILA TURNER, m. Sir Arthur Harris, of Stowford, Devon; (created Bart. 1673); ob. s.p. about 1686. = † 1664.

ANNA, dau. and sole heir; d. an infant 8 Sept. 1655; bur. at Tatersete, aforesd.

1 In which he directs to be buried at Cottenham with his father.
2 Had an estate in Chigwell, and was of St. Helens, London. Name of brother, John King.
3 Serjeant-at-law and Lord Chief Justice of Ireland; some time of Bury St. Edmonds.
4 Sister of Martha, wife of John Blenheim, (K. 7. 6.) M.A.
5 Apprentice to Ram, the banker.
6 Sometime student of Christ Church, Oxford; a Master in Chancery.
7 Of Upper Brook Street, St. George's, Hanover Square; sometime student of Christ Church, Oxford; Physician Extraordinary to his Majesty; Fellow of the College of Physicians.
8 Of Impington, co. Cambridge, and of the Middle Temple, London; Recorder of Cambridge; M.P. for Cambridge 1661.
9 Eldest daughter of Sir Francis Bacon, Serjeant-at-law, and a Justice of the King's Bench.
10 A Bencher of the Middle Temple, Justice of the Peace, and Recorder of the City of York.

LIFE OF SAMUEL PEPYS.

SAMUEL PEPYS, the author of the Diary, was descended from a younger branch of the ancient family of Pepys, who settled at Cottenham, in Cambridgeshire, early in the sixteenth century; and are represented in Blomefield's History of Norfolk to have been previously seated at Diss, in that county; but he himself did not think that his ancestors ever had been considerable.[1]

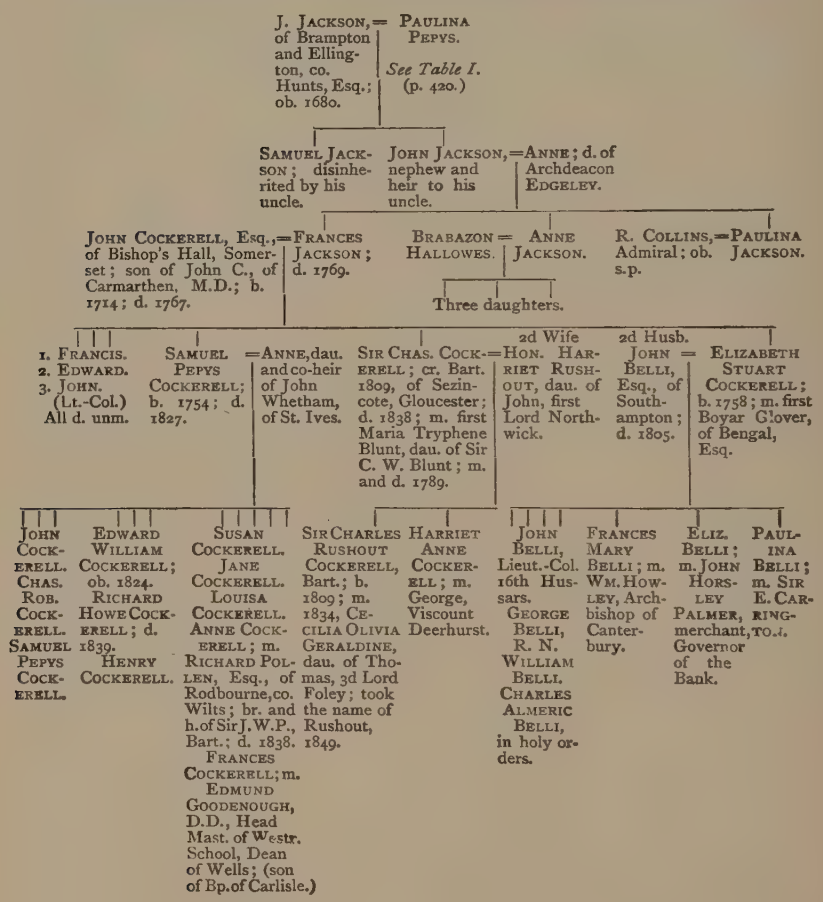
His father, John Pepys, was a citizen of London, where he followed the trade of a tailor till the year 1660; when he retired to Brampton, near Huntingdon, at which place he had inherited a small property, worth about £40 rental, from an elder brother, and ended his days there in 1680. Of our author's mother, it is only known that her name was Margaret, and that she died in 1666–7, having had issue six sons and five daughters, of which number, three of the former and one of the latter were living in 1659.

Samuel, the eldest surviving son, was born on the 23rd of February, 1632, whether at Brampton or in London cannot be decided, both places having been claimed with equal confidence by his biographers. From allusions in the Diary, he seems to have been well acquainted with the metropolis and its environs in his earliest childhood: and he received the first rudiments of education at Huntingdon previously to his admission into St. Paul's School, where he continued till 1650, early in which year his name occurs as a Sizar on the boards of Trinity College, Cambridge. But before his academical residence

[1] See Diary, vol. i., p. 277.

TABLE II.

THE DESCENDANTS OF PAULINA, SISTER OF SAMUEL PEPYS.


J. Jackson, of Brampton and Ellington, co. Hunts, Esq.; ob. 1680.
= Paulina Pepys.
See Table I. (p. 420.)
Samuel Jackson; disinherited by his uncle.
John Jackson, nephew and heir to his uncle.
= Anne; d. of Archdeacon Edgeley.
John Cockerell, Esq., of Bishop's Hall, Somerset; son of John C., of Carmarthen, M.D.; b. 1714; d. 1767.
= Frances Jackson; d. 1769.
Brabazon Hallowes.
= Anne Jackson.
Three daughters.
R. Collins, Admiral; ob. s.p.
= Paulina Jackson.
1. Francis.
2. Edward.
3. John.
(Lt.-Col.) All d. unm.
Samuel Pepys Cockerell; b. 1754; d. 1827.
= Anne, dau. and co-heir of John Whetham, of St. Ives.
Sir Chas. Cockerell; cr. Bart. 1809, of Sezincote, Gloucester; d. 1838; m. first Maria Tryphene Blunt, dau. of Sir C. W. Blunt; m. and d. 1789.
= 2d Wife Hon. Harriet Rushout, dau. of John, first Lord Northwick.
2d Husb. John Belli, Esq., of Southampton; d. 1805.
= Elizabeth Stuart Cockerell; b. 1758; m. first Boyar Glover, of Bengal, Esq.
John Cockerell. Chas. Rob. Cockerell. Samuel Pepys Cockerell.
Edward William Cockerell; ob. 1824. Richard Howe Cockerell; d. 1839. Henry Cockerell.
Susan Cockerell. Jane Cockerell. Louisa Cockerell. Anne Cockerell; m. Richard Pollen, Esq., of Rodbourne, co. Wilts; br. and h. of Sir J. W. P., Bart.; d. 1838. Frances Cockerell; m. Edmund Goodenough, D.D., Head Mast. of Westr. School, Dean of Wells; (son of Bp. of Carlisle.)
Sir Charles Rushout Cockerell, Bart.; b. 1809; m. 1834, Cecilia Olivia Geraldine, dau. of Thomas, 3d Lord Foley; took the name of Rushout, 1849.
Harriet Anne Cockerell; m. George, Viscount Deerhurst.
John Belli, Lieut.-Col. 16th Hussars. George Belli, R. N. William Belli. Charles Almeric Belli, in holy orders.
Frances Mary Belli; m. Wm. Howley, Archbishop of Canterbury.
Eliz. Belli; m. John Horsley Palmer, merchant, to d. Governor of the Bank.
Paulina Belli; m. Sir E. Carrington.

LIFE OF SAMUEL PEPYS.

commenced, March 5th, 1650–1, he had removed to Magdalene College, where he was elected into one of Mr. Spendluffe's scholarships the next month; and, in 1651, preferred to one on Dr. Smith's foundation.

How long Pepys continued at Cambridge, or what proficiency he made, we are not informed. The only notice of him that has been discovered is printed in the note below, though it is more creditable to the discipline of the college than to our young student.[1] In October, 1655, he married Elizabeth St. Michel, a native of Somersetshire, of whom it is recorded, on her monument, that her father was of a good family, and her mother descended from the Cliffords of Cumberland, though there is no evidence whatever to support the assumption. As the young lady had only just quitted a convent, at the early age of fifteen, and brought her husband no fortune, the youthful pair were doubtless glad to find an asylum in the family of Pepys's cousin, Sir Edward Montagu, afterwards the first Earl of Sandwich, to whose good offices at this juncture, and continued friendship, he owed and gratefully acknowledged his subsequent advancement. Of the exact situation which he filled whilst under the roof of his powerful relative no mention is made. We only know that he underwent an operation for the stone on the 16th of March, 1658, with so much success, that he for many years celebrated the anniversary of his deliverance with a becoming sense of the Divine mercy extended to him. Shortly after his recovery, he attended Sir Edward Montagu upon his expedition to the Sound, in March, 1658, and at their return was employed as a clerk,

[1] October 21, 1653. "Memorandum: that Peapys and Hind were solemnly admonished by myself and Mr. Hill, for having been scandalously over-served with drink y^e^ night before. This was done in the presence of all the Fellows then resident, in Mr. Hill's chamber.—JOHN WOOD, Registrar." (*From the Register-Book of Magdalene College.*)

under Mr. George Downing, created a Baronet at the Restoration, in some office in the Exchequer, connected with the pay of the Army.

About this time, he began to keep a Diary, which is continued uninterruptedly from the first entry, 1 January, 1659–60, for above nine years, when he was obliged, from defective vision, to discontinue this daily task. As he availed himself of his facility in writing shorthand, he was enabled safely to record his most secret thoughts, and to note down his memoranda with clearness and despatch. The Cipher employed by him greatly resembles that known by the name of "Rich's System," which, within the memory of man, could have been easily made out by many persons, as it had formed part of the regular course of instruction required in the Nonconformists' academies, to enable the students to make notes of lectures and sermons. A more interesting moment for the commencement of a journal could not well have been selected, as we are at once introduced to the most minute and circumstantial details of the exciting events preceding the Restoration. And, as our author was soon after appointed secretary to the two Generals of the Fleet, and went to Scheveling on board the flag-ship of his patron, Sir Edward Montagu, to bring home Charles II., every occurrence is related in connexion with that memorable expedition. It was natural to suppose that, while his Kinsman, who had acted so conspicuous a part in restoring the monarchy, was rewarded with an Earldom, and made Keeper of the Great Wardrobe and Clerk of the Privy Seal, his confidential servant would not long remain unemployed. Accordingly, we find Pepys in the following summer nominated Clerk of the Acts of the Navy; and he entered upon his new duties early in June, 1660, at which time he went to reside in a house belonging to the Navy Office in Seething Lane, in the parish of St. Olave, Hart Street. From this moment, his natural

talents for business seem to have developed themselves; and his zeal and industry soon acquired for him respect from his brother officers, and the esteem of the Duke of York, with whom, as Lord High Admiral, he had constant intercourse for many years.

It could not be expected that, in so licentious an age, when love of pleasure was the order of the day, the new Clerk of the Acts should have been so completely absorbed by his official labours as to take no interest in the scenes of dissipation which surrounded him. His first object, however, was to discharge his official duties conscientiously; and, when we observe the many hours which he devoted to the theatre, and to every sort of amusement, it becomes matter of astonishment how he could have found leisure to despatch so much business, and to make copies of the voluminous papers connected with the Navy. They afford the best proof that he laboured incessantly for the good of the service, and endeavoured to check the rapacity of the Contractors, by whom the naval stores were then supplied, and to establish such regulations in the Dockyards as might ensure order and economy. He also strenuously advocated the promotion of the old established Officers of the Navy, striving to counteract the undue influence exercised by the Court minions, which too often prevailed in that unprincipled Government over every claim of merit or service; and he resisted to the utmost the open system of selling places, practised in every department of the State, in the most unblushing manner.

The Dutch war, which broke out in 1664, stimulated Pepys to still further exertions, as all the naval energies of the nation were necessarily called into action; and, during the Plague of 1665, when the metropolis was deserted, and every branch of the service completely abandoned, the whole management of the concerns of the Navy devolved upon him, and he remained at his post,

regardless of the dangers which environed him. "The sickness in general thickens round us, and particularly upon our neighbourhood," observes Pepys, in writing to Sir W. Coventry at this juncture. "You, sir, took your turn of the sword; I must not, therefore, grudge to take mine of the pestilence."

He soon afterwards succeeded Mr. Povy as Treasurer to the Commissioners for the affairs of Tangier, and Surveyor-general of the Victualling department; which last office he resigned when the peace was concluded.

During the Fire of London, respecting which so much is said in these pages, Pepys rendered the most essential service, by sending up the artificers from the Dockyards, who adopted the plan of blowing-up houses, and arrested the progress of the flames. In the Spring of 1668, when De Ruyter's successful enterprise against Chatham, in the preceding year, became the subject of a Parliamentary inquiry, the Officers of the Navy Board naturally incurred the greatest share of the public indignation, and were summoned to the Bar of the House of Commons. Upon this occasion, our Clerk of the Acts undertook their defence, and, in a speech of three hours' duration, succeeded so well in exculpating his Colleagues and himself, that no further proceedings were instituted against them.

The compliments which he received from so many different quarters upon this unexpected display of eloquence must have been highly flattering, and the particulars are too minutely detailed in the Diary to leave any doubt on the subject. Still, it does not appear that the same individual, who in this one instance did himself so much credit, ever afterwards rose to distinction as a Parliamentary speaker, though he sat for many years in the House of Commons,[1] and ocasionally took part in

[1] He had served once for Castle Rising, and represented Harwich in two parliaments, and made his election for that place in 1685, when he was also chosen at Sandwich.

the debates. In the summer of 1669, our author was obliged to discontinue his Diary, owing to the increasing weakness of his eyes, which had long been impaired by his incessant correspondence, and the use of shorthand; but, although he was apprehensive of entirely losing his sight, the disorder does not seem to have gained ground during the remainder of his life. At all events, some relaxation from business had become necessary, after nine years' uninterrupted labour: Pepys accordingly obtained a few months' leave of absence, which enabled him to make a tour through France and Holland, accompanied by his wife. Upon this excursion he often dwells with pleasure in his Correspondence; and he appears, from one of his letters to Charles II., to have occupied himself while abroad in making collections respecting the French and Dutch Navy; so anxious was he at all times to improve his knowledge of nautical affairs, and to acquire useful information connected with his favourite employments.

Shortly after his return home, he had the misfortune to lose his wife, who died at his house in Hart Street, leaving him no issue. She had been ill only a few days, though her delicate state of health is often alluded to in the Diary. Previously to her death, she, with her husband, received the Sacrament from Dr. Milles, the rector of the parish; thus, in her last moments, removing the fears which he had long entertained of her being disposed to the Roman Catholic faith.

This melancholy event prevented Pepys from attending the ensuing election at Aldborough, in Suffolk, for which borough he had been proposed as a candidate, in lieu of Sir Robert Brookes,[1] lately deceased; but his friends exerted themselves to the utmost to procure his election. His cause was also openly and warmly espoused by the Duke of York and Lord Henry Howard;[2] but all their efforts

[1] See Diary, May 14th, 1665, vol. ii., p. 170.

[2] Second son of Henry Earl of Arundel: in 1669, created Baron

failed, and the contest ended in favour of the popular party. In January, 1673, Pepys was chosen burgess for Castle Rising, on Sir Robert Paston's elevation to the Peerage; but his unsuccessful opponent, Mr. Offley, petitioning against the return, the Election was determined to be void by the Committee of Privileges. The Parliament, however, being prorogued the following month, without the House's coming to any vote on the subject, Pepys was permitted to retain his seat.[1] The grounds

Howard, of Castle Rising; and, in 1672, advanced to the Earldom of Norwich. Upon the death of his elder brother Thomas, s. p. in 1677, he became the sixth Duke of Norfolk. He presented the Arundel Marbles to the University of Oxford. Ob. January, 1683–4.

[1] "The House then proceeding upon the debate touching the Election for Castle Rising, between Mr. Pepys and Mr. Offley, did, in the first place, take into consideration what related personally to Mr. Pepys. Information being given to the House that they had received an account from a person of quality, that he saw an Altar with a Crucifix upon it in the house of Mr. Pepys; Mr. Pepys, standing up in his place, did heartily and flatly deny that he ever had any Altar or Crucifix, or the image or picture of any Saint whatsoever in his house, from the top to the bottom of it; and the Members being called upon to name the person that gave the information, they were unwilling to declare it, without the order of the House; which, being made, they named the Earl of Shaftesbury; and the House being also informed that Sir J. Banks did likewise see the Altar, he was ordered to attend the Bar of the House, to declare what he knew of this matter. Ordered, that Sir William Coventry, Sir Thomas Meeres, and Mr. Garraway, do attend Lord Shaftesbury on the like occasion, and receive what information his Lordship can give on this matter." —*Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. ix. p. 306.——"13 February,—Sir. W. Coventry reports that they attended the Earl of Shaftesbury, and received from him the account which they had put in writing. The Earl of Shaftesbury denieth that he ever saw an Altar in Mr. Pepys's house or lodgings; as to the Crucifix, he saith he hath some imperfect memory of seeing somewhat which he conceived to be a Crucifix. When his Lordship was asked the time, he said it was before the burning the Office of the Navy. Being asked concerning the manner, he said he could not remember

upon which the Committee decided do not appear; but the proceedings of the House on the subject, as entered on the Journals, are given in the note below. They exhibit a striking and most disgusting picture of the spirit of those times. It was charged against Pepys, that a crucifix had been seen in his house, from which it was inferred that he was "a Papist, or Popishly inclined;" and this vague suspicion, not of a man's actions, but of his belief or his inclinations, was deemed by the House the first subject to be inquired into in the adjudication of a controverted election. From the result, however, of this examination, neither the fact nor the inference received the smallest support. They had been grounded on the reported assertions of Sir John Banks and the Earl of Shaftesbury. Banks explicitly denied the whole. Shaftesbury's evidence I forbear to characterize: such as it is, the reader may see it in the note. Painful, indeed, is it to reflect to what lengths the bad passions which party violence inflames could in those days carry a man of Shaftesbury's rank, station, and abilities. We also collect from Coles's MSS., *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*,[1] that, some years afterwards, Shaftesbury, in his eagerness to

whether it were painted or carved, or in what manner the thing was; and that his memory was so very imperfect in it, that if he were upon his oath he could give no testimony."—*Ibid.*, vol. ix., p. 309.——"16 February,—Sir John Banks was called in—The Speaker desired him to answer what acquaintance he hath with Mr. Pepys, and whether he used to have recourse to him to his house, and had ever seen there any Altar or Crucifix, and whether he knew of his being a Papist, or Popishly inclined. Sir J. Banks said that he had known and had been acquainted with Mr. Pepys several years, and had often visited him and conversed with him at the Navy Office, and at his house there, upon several occasions; and that he never saw in his house there any Altar or Crucifix, and that he does not believe him to be a Papist, or that way inclined in the least, nor had any reason or ground to think or believe it."—*Ibid.*, vol. ix., p. 310.

[1] In the British Museum.

fix the odium of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's self-murder upon the Roman Catholics, threatened the principal witness examined during that inquiry with the utmost rigour, in case she refused to say that Sir John Banks, Mr. Pepys, and Monsieur de Puy,[1] a servant of the Duke of York's, had obliged her to depose to the fact of Godfrey's having destroyed himself.

A fact of the same character, but of a still deeper hue, is told by an unexceptionable witness. Burnet was among the warmest and ablest antagonists of the Church of Rome; and he was also, in his general opinions, an adherent of the same political party to which Shaftesbury belonged: but, when he relates the detestable imposture of the Popish Plot, he bears against that great promoter of those proceedings an honest and memorable testimony. He is speaking of the prosecution of .Staley, the first victim of those horrid perjuries. "When I heard," he says, "who the witnesses were, I thought I was bound to do what I could to stop it; so I sent both to the Lord Chancellor and to the Attorney-General, to let them know what *profligate wretches* these witnesses were. Jones, the Attorney-General, took it ill of me that I should disparage the King's evidence." He then speaks of the clamour raised on this occasion against himself, and adds, "I had likewise observed, to several persons of weight, how many incredible things there were in the evidence that was given. I wished they would make use of the heat the nation was in to secure us effectually from Popery: we saw certain evidence to carry us so far as to graft that upon it;[2] but I wished they would not run too hastily to

[1] Yeoman of the Robes to the Duke of York, with a salary of £60.

[2] He here alludes, probably, to the projected exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne, a measure for which abundant cause has been given. The only real Popish Plot was the plot of the King and his brother. They, and not the wretched victims of this persecution, had conspired with France to subvert the religion and liberties of a

the taking men's lives away upon such testimonies. Lord Hollis had more temper than I expected from a man of his heat. Lord Halifax was of the same mind. But the Earl of Shaftesbury could not bear the discourse: he said, '*We must support the evidence*, and that all those who undermined the credit of the witnesses were to be looked on as *public enemies*.'"[1] This passage requires no comment. The charge against Pepys was in truth a heavy one—that of hypocrisy and dissimulation in matters of religion: it is sufficiently refuted by this view of the principles and conduct of him who was the chief instigator, as well as the chief witness in the case; but, with respect to the religion of Pepys, these volumes supply conclusive information. He was educated in the pure and reformed faith of the Church of England. To that he adhered through life, and in that he died. In some of the earliest pages of his Diary, how interesting are the accounts of his attendance on the worship of that Church, when her rites were administered to a scattered flock by a few faithful and courageous men, who met for that purpose in secret and in danger, like the Fathers of the primitive Church under the tyranny of their heathen persecutors! After the Restoration, the confidential servant of the Duke of York, and the Secretary of the Admiralty to Charles the Second and James the Second, saw, undoubtedly, how much his temporal interests would be promoted by his conversion to that faith which both those Prinses had embraced, and for the propagation of which the last of them, his immediate patron, manifested such a bigoted and fanatical enthusiasm. But there is no reason for believing that any such temptation ever entered into his mind; or, if it did, the reader will see, in the close of this Memoir, the most satisfactory proofs that it was steadily and successfully resisted.

people, to whose ill-requited loyalty they had been so recently and so largely indebted.

[1] Burnet, History of his own Time, 1678.

In the summer of 1673, the Duke of York having resigned all his employments, upon the passing of the Test Act, his Majesty called Pepys into his own service, as Secretary for the affairs of the Navy, in which important station he gained additional credit; not, however, without once more exciting the envy and malice of his enemies, who lost no opportunity of revenging themselves upon the Duke of York, by directing their attacks against all his dependents. Accordingly, during the turbulent juncture of the Popish Plot, complaint having been made in the House of Commons of various miscarriages in the Navy, a Committee was appointed to inquire into the circumstances, in which Mr. Harbord, Burgess for Thetford, took the lead against Pepys and Sir Anthony Deane.[1] They were accused, on the depositions of Colonel John Scott and others, of sending secret particulars respecting the English Navy to the French government, in order to assist in the design of dethroning the King and extirpating the Protestant religion; and Pepys was again charged with being a Roman Catholic, and a great favourer of that party. They were committed to the Tower under the Speaker's warrant, May 22d, 1679. On the 2d of June, both prisoners were brought to the Bar of the King's Bench, when, bail being denied them, their counsel pressed for a speedy trial, which the Attorney-General refused, upon the ground that he expected more evidence of their treasonable correspondence with France. They were then remanded to the Tower, and, after being brought up a second and third time, allowed to find security in £30,000; and, though they subsequently appeared in Court four times more, the trial was always postponed upon the same plea. At length, on February 12th, they moved by counsel to be discharged; and, on the Attorney-

[1] There is a pamphlet, called "Plain Truth, or a Private Discourse between [*P*]*epys* and [*H*]*arbord*, about the Navy," printed about 1679.

General's stating that Scott now refused to acknowledge the truth of his original deposition, upon which the whole charge rested, the prisoners were relieved from their bail, and their motion was acceded to on the first day of the next term, with the consent of the Law Officers of the Crown.

It is difficult to recur to these unjust and arbitrary proceedings without disgust; but the accusation being so serious, it seems due to the characters of the parties suspected to examine the allegations closer. On reference to the papers still extant, in which the whole case is detailed, it appears that numerous affidavits were made by persons resident in France, Holland, America, and England, all agreeing as to the infamy of Scott's character. We are also informed, in the Correspondence, that he was afterwards obliged to quit the country precipitately, having killed a coachman in a fray, for which offence he was outlawed. It is farther stated that a principal witness against Pepys, named James, formerly his butler, had deposed before the Committee to his master's being a Roman Catholic; and that Morelli, who lived with him, though engaged under pretence of teaching him music, was a priest in disguise. But, on his own apprehension, James confessed that he had invented the whole story, at the instigation of Mr. Harbord, who had held out promises and rewards to him, through Colonel Mansell and Mr. Alexander Harris: and he swore to this recantation before several witnesses. In addition to these exculpatory facts, we have the testimony of Evelyn, who mentions in his Diary, that he dined with Pepys, then a prisoner in the Tower, and *believed him to be unjustly accused.*

In the meantime, Charles II. again changed the constitution of the Admiralty: owing to which arrangement, the nation lost the benefit of Pepys's services therein; but he had the honour of attending his Royal Master for ten

days at Newmarket, in October, 1680, on which occasion he took down in shorthand, from the King's own mouth, the Narrative, since frequently published, of Charles's escape after the battle of Worcester.

In September, 1683, Pepys was again brought into notice, having received the King's commands to accompany Lord Dartmouth on the expedition for demolishing Tangier. Upon this occasion, he so far resumed the use of shorthand as to make some meagre notes respecting the voyage, and the destruction of the Mole, which were deciphered and published, in 1841, from the MS. in the Bodleian Library. These memoranda, however, are not to be compared in interest with any part of the original Diary; still we cannot but regret that, as Pepys's eyesight must have been improved, he did not re-commence his former occupation as a journalist. During his absence from England, he took the opportunity of making excursions into Spain, as he had formerly done into France, Flanders, Holland, Sweden, and Denmark; not to mention his lesser voyages with the Duke of York, and especially one to Scotland in the preceding year, during which he had the good fortune to be on board his own yacht,[1] when the Gloucester was lost, and the Duke and a small number of that ship's company were saved.

From the Tangier expedition Pepys returned the following Spring; and the King having himself assumed the Office of High Admiral, he was, "by the Royal commands, neither sought for nor foreseen, but brought to him expressly by Lord Dartmouth from Windsor,"[2] constituted Secretary for the affairs of the Admiralty, with a salary of £500 per annum, which office he continued to fill during the remainder of the reign, and the whole of that of his successor, whose confidence he had so long and so deservedly enjoyed: so much so, that the

[1] See Correspondence, pp. 289, 290, *ante*.

[2] Pepys's own words in speaking of the transaction.

curious circumstance respecting Charles's becoming a Catholic on his death-bed, related by Evelyn, rests chiefly upon the authority of Pepys, to whom James himself had communicated all the particulars. We are also told, that when that Monarch was sitting to Kneller for his picture,[1] intended as a present to the Secretary of the Admiralty, news coming of the Prince of Orange having landed, the King, with the utmost composure, desired the painter to proceed and finish the portrait, that his good friend might not be disappointed.

The naval history of the period, from Pepys's committal to the Tower to the abdication of James II., and the part borne by him therein, will be found fully and elegantly detailed in his Memoirs, published in 1690, which the reader may consult for his more ample satisfaction.[2] From the perusal of this little tract, as well as many parts of the work now published, it may be seen how erroneously the merit of renovating the Navy has been assigned to James II. by his biographers. Dr. Stanier Clarke,[3] in particular, dwells upon the essential and lasting benefit which that Monarch conferred on his country, by *building up and regenerating the Naval Power;* and asserts, as *a proof of the King's great ability*, that *the regulations still enforced under the order of the Admiralty are nearly the same as those originally drawn up by him.* It becomes due therefore to Pepys's memory to explain that, for these improvements, the value of which are unquestionable, we are indebted to him, and not to his Royal Master. To establish this fact, it is only necessary to refer to the MSS. connected with the subject, in the Bodleian and Pepysian

[1] Now in the possession of the Cockerell family, and engraved by Vertue.

[2] There is a small book in the Pepysian Library entitled "*A Relation of the Troubles in the Court of Portugal* in 1667 *and* 8, *by S. P. Esq^re.*," London 1677, 12mo.: of which Watt states Pepys to have been the author.—See *Bibliotheca Britan.*

[3] See Memoirs of James II.

Libraries, by which the extent of Pepys's official labours can alone be appreciated; and we even find in the Diary,[1] that a long letter of regulation, produced before the Commissioners of the Navy by the Duke of York, in 1668, *as his own composition, was entirely written by the Clerk of the Acts.*

Upon the accession of William and Mary, Pepys lost his official employments; and the Electors of Harwich, unmindful of his services in former Parliaments, and naturally jealous of his attachment to the exiled Monarch, refused, after a slight struggle, to return him to the Convention. He retired consequently into private life, trusting that he should be allowed to end his days in tranquillity, and the enjoyment of literary society, for which his various acquirements so peculiarly qualified him. Nevertheless, he was soon again disturbed by the malice of his enemies, who, in June, 1690, procured his committal to the Gatehouse, upon pretence of his being affected to the exiled King; but he shortly obtained leave, on account of ill health, to return to his own house, and there is no farther mention of the charge; though, even in 1692, he apprehended some fresh persecution, being obliged (as he himself observes) to enjoy his *otium* without the company of more of his books and papers than he was willing should be visited and disturbed. Owing to this precaution, the large portion of original Pepys Papers which remained in York Buildings were ultimately lost to Magdalene College, Cambridge, never having passed into the hands of Mr. Jackson, who had a life interest in all his Uncle's collections. What became of these literary treasures during the interval is not known, but eventually Dr. Rawlinson obtained them, as he said, "*Thus et odores vendentibus*," and they were included in the bequest of his books to the Bodleian Library; and some of these letters will be found in the Correspondence contained in this Volume.

[1] See Diary, vol. iii., pp. 473–499, *passim*, for the particulars.

We are assured that, notwithstanding political prejudices and the bitterness of party spirit, Pepys was very generally consulted up to the time of his death, and looked upon as an oracle in all matters concerning the Navy; and, as far as the difficulties of the times allowed him opportunity, he continued uniformly anxious to point out any improvement likely to benefit the service to which he had so long been an ornament.

Nor were the leisure hours of his retirement spent in an useless manner, as he devoted himself to the restoration of the government of Christ's Hospital to its pristine purity; and he succeeded in preserving from impending ruin the Mathematical Foundation there, which had been originally designed by him, and, through his anxious solicitations, endowed and cherished by his two Royal Masters.

The estimation in which Pepys was held for his literary attainments had raised him, in 1684, to the high station of President of the Royal Society, which he filled during two years with credit and ability. After he had relinquished the office, he was in the habit of entertaining some of the most distinguished members of that learned body, on Saturday evenings, at his house in York Buildings, where they assembled for the discussion of literary subjects, and the encouragement of the liberal arts. To the dissolution of these meetings, occasioned by the increasing infirmities of their Founder, Evelyn adverts in his letters, in terms of the strongest regret: nor could a person of his enlightened mind fail to derive the most heartfelt gratification from witnessing so many of his contemporaries eagerly devoting the small remant of their lives to the cultivation of science and the encouragement of useful knowledge.

Another portion of his fruitful recess the Author of the Diary set apart for the arrangement of his extensive collections, obtained, at an immense cost, for the general history of the *Navalia* of England, which he had promised

to the public; but age and ill health intervening, he was deprived of the vigour and opportunities requisite for completing the work; and it remains a desideratum to this day.

Of his munificence as a patron of literature, the numerous books dedicated to Pepys furnish ample testimony; and in the Preface to Willoughby's *Historia Piscium*, 1684, he is justly styled by Mr. Ray, "Ingenuarum Artium, et Eruditorum Fautor et Patronus eximius," as having contributed no fewer than sixty plates to that work. He was also a considerable benefactor to St. Paul's School, and a subscriber to the New Court at Magdalene College.

Of his tender affection to his parents, the Diary affords many instances; and his liberality, at a time when he was far from rich, in giving his sister, Mrs. Paulina Jackson, £600 as a marriage portion, is worthy of mention. Nor did his kindness to the family terminate here, as he took the care of her two sons, who were left orphans when very young, and wholly unprovided for, and educated them at his own expense. Samuel, the eldest, contracting extravagant habits early in life, and making a discreditable marriage, forfeited all claim to his relative's further good offices, while his brother John lived to repay the kindness shown to him. After completing his studies at Magdalene College, he was sent, under the auspices of his uncle, to make the tour of Italy and Spain; and on his return, being received once more under his benefactor's roof, ultimately inherited his property, as a reward for the attentions with which he had soothed his declining years.

It may be right to notice, that Pepys was examined at the trial of the seven Bishops, on which occasion he deposed that he had been present at the Council when the prelates were committed; but his evidence, as to their delivering the petition to the King, was not conclusive. Between his attachment to the Protestant

religion, and his fear of offending his Royal Master, he was doubtless very glad to make his escape from the witness-box, without being further questioned.

Our author's valuable life was now drawing gradually to a close. By the too continued exercises of his mind, without any consideration to his advanced age, he had destroyed his constitution, long before impaired by the stone. On this account the physicians persuaded him, in 1700, to bid adieu to York Buildings, and retire, for the sake of change of air and repose, to the seat of his old friend and servant, William Hewer, at Clapham. Nor could a more eligible retreat have been selected, nor a kinder companion than that cherished individual, whose amiable qualities and disinterested gratitude to his patron under circumstances of no common difficulty, entitle him to the highest commendation which can be bestowed.[1] Here, also, Pepys still persevered in the same studious occupations; and with the greater intenseness, as he was less exposed to interruption: the object of his removal was consequently frustrated, and he consummated the ruin of his health, and expired, after a lingering illness, May 26, 1703.

Though he lived in an age when religious duties were too generally neglected, and even ridiculed, Pepys retained the habit, acquired in his earliest youth, of constantly attending the service of the Church of England, and was for many years a regular attendant at the Sacrament. Upon this subject, the Certificate which follows, copied from the original in the Bodleian Library, must not be omitted :—

May 22, 1681.

I, Daniel Milles, Doctor in Divinity, present (and for above

[1] Far different was the conduct of Josiah Burchett and James Southerne, who, rising, through Pepys's interest, to high stations in the Admiralty, lived to forget their benefactor, and treat him with neglect and disrespect.

twenty yeares last past) Rector of the parish of St. Olave's, Hart Street, London, doe hereby certify, that Samuel Pepys, Esq., some time one of the Principall Officers and Commissioners of his Majestie's Navy, and since Secretary of the Admiralty of England, became (with his family) an inhabitant of the said Parish, about the month of June, in the yeare of our Lord, 1660, and so continued (without intermission) for the space of thirteen years, viz. untill about the same month in the yeare 1673, when he was called thence to attend his Majesty in his said Secretaryship: during all which time, the said Mr. Pepys and his whole family were constant attenders upon the public worship of God and his Holy Ordinances, (under my ministration,) according to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, established by Law, without the least appearance or suggestion had of any inclination towards Popery, either in himself or any of his family; his Lady receiving the Holy Sacrament (in company with him, the said Mr. Pepys, her husband, and others) from my hand, according to the rites of the Church of England, upon her death-bed few houres before her decease, in the yeare 1669.

And I doe hereby further certify, that the said Mr. Pepys hath, from the determination of his said residence in this parish, continued to receive the Holy Communion with the inhabitants thereof, to this day; so that I verily beleeve, hee never failed, within the whole space of one and twenty yeares last past (viz. from June 1660,) to this instant 22d of May, (being Whitsunday in the yeare 1681,) of communicating publickly in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper with the inhabitants of the Parish, from my hand, at any of the solemn Feasts of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, (besides his frequent monthly communicatings therein,) saving on Whitsunday, 1679, when, being a prisoner in the Tower, he appears to have received it in the publick Chappell there; and at Easter last, when, by a violent sicknesse, (which confined him to his bed,) hee was, to my particular knowledge, rendered incapable of attending it. Witnesse my Hand, the day and the yeare above written.

D. MILLES, D.D. Rect^r^ of S^t^ Olave,
Hart Street, Lond.

It is further gratifying to be able to trace in the Correspondence, that, as Pepys advanced in years, he turned his mind more earnestly to serious thoughts, and devoutly prepared for the change which awaited him. Nor could the example of the virtuous Evelyn, whose friendship he

had cultivated from their first acquaintance, have been useless or unprofitable, in this particular. The tranquillity of mind and pious resignation which he evinced on his death-bed, with some interesting details of his last illness, are best described in the following letters.

Mr. Jackson[1] *to Mr. Evelyn.*

Clapham, May 28th, 1703,
Friday night.

Honoured Sir,

'Tis no small addition to my grief, to be obliged to interrupt the quiet of your happy recess with the afflicting tidings of my Uncle Pepys's death; knowing how sensibly you will partake with me herein. But I should not be faithful to his desires, if I did not beg your doing the honour to his memory of accepting mourning from him, as a small instance of his most affectionate respect and honour for you. I have thought myself extremely unfortunate to be out of the way at that only time when you were pleased lately to touch here, and express so great a desire of taking your leave of my Uncle; which could not but have been admitted by him as a most welcome exception to his general orders against being interrupted; and I could most heartily wish that the circumstances of your health and distance did not forbid me to ask the favour of your assisting in the holding up of the pawll at his interment, which is intended to be on Thursday next; for if the manes are affected with what passes below, I am sure this would have been very grateful to his.

I must not omit acquainting you, sir, that upon opening his body, (which the uncommonness of his case required of us, for our own satisfaction as well as public good,) there was found in his left kidney a nest of no less than seven stones, of the most irregular

[1] Communicated by the late Mr. William Upcott. It appears from the Evelyn Papers, in the British Museum, (bought at Mr. Upcott's sale,) that, in September, 1705, Mr. John Jackson made a proposal of marriage to one of Evelyn's grand-daughters, through their mutual friend, William Hewer. The alliance was declined solely on account of Jackson's being unable to make an adequate settlement on the young lady; whilst Evelyn (the draught of whose answer is preserved) courteously acknowledged the respect entertained by him for Pepys's memory, and his sense of the nephew's extraordinary accomplishments. Mr. Jackson die unmarried.

figures your imagination can frame, and weighing together four ounces and a half, but all fast linked together, and adhering to his back; whereby they solve his having felt no greater pains upon motion, nor other of the ordinary symptoms of the stone. Some other lesser defects there also were in his body, proceeding from the same cause. But his stamina, in general, were marvellously strong, and not only supported him, under the most exquisite pains, weeks beyond all expectations; but, in the conclusion, contended for near forty hours (unassisted by any nourishment) with the very agonies of death, some few minutes excepted, before his expiring, which were very calm.

There remains only for me, under this affliction, to beg the consolation and honour of succeeding to your patronage, for my Uncle's sake; and leave to number myself, with the same sincerity he ever did, among your greatest honourers, which I shall esteem as one of the most valuable parts of my inheritances from him; being also, with the faithfullest wishes of health and a happy, long life to you,

Honoured Sir,
Your most obedient and
Most humble Servant,
J. JACKSON.

Mr. Hewer, as my Uncle's Executor, and equally your faithful Servant, joines with me in every part hereof.

The time of my good Uncle's departure was about three-quarters past three on Wednesday morning last.

Extract of a letter from Dr Hickes[1] *to Dr Charlett.*[2]

June 5, 1703.

Last night, at 9 o'clock, I did the last office for your and my good friend, M^r^ Pepys at S^t^ Olave's Church, where he was laid in a vault of his own makeing, by his wife and brother.[3]

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[1] George Hickes, D.D., deprived of the Deanery of Worcester, which he had held five years, from February, 1689–90, for refusing to take the oaths to King William. He was a person of universal learning, and author of several works upon the old Northern Languages, in which he was deeply read. Ob. 1714, æt. suæ 74.

[2] From the original in the Bodleian Library.

[3] June 4, 1703—"*Samuel Peyps, Esq^re^* buried in a vault by y^e^ Comunion Table."—*Register of St. Olave, Hart Street.* This is decisive as to the proper pronunciation of the name.

The greatness of his behaviour, in his long and sharp tryall before his death, was in every respect answerable to his great life; and I believe no man ever went out of this world with greater contempt of it, or a more lively faith in every thing that was revealed of the world to come. I administered the Holy Sacrament twice in his illnesse to him, and had administered it a third time, but for a sudden fit of illness that happened at the appointed time of administering of it. Twice I gave him the absolution of the Church, which he desired, and received with all reverence and comfort; and I never attended any sick or dying person that dyed with so much Christian greatnesse of mind, or a more lively sense of immortality, or so much fortitude and patience, in so long and sharp a tryall, or greater resignation to the will, which he most devoutly acknowledged to be the wisdom of God; and I doubt not but he is now a very blessed spirit, according to his motto, MENS CUJUSQUE, IS EST QUISQUE.

GEORGE HICKES.

Samuel Pepys, by his will dated May, 1703, left his estate at Brampton, and the residue of his property, charged with a few legacies, to his nephew John Jackson; to whom he also gave the use of his valuable Library and Collection of Prints, for his life, and directed that they should afterwards be removed to Magdalene College, Cambridge, and placed for ever, subject to certain restrictions and regulations, in the sole custody of the Master for the time being. He seemed conscious that his heirs would not feel satisfied with his testamentary dispositions, and accordingly inserted the following clause in his will:—

"I earnestly recommend it to my said Nephews to join with me in not repining at any disappointment they may, by the late public Providence of God, meet with in what they might otherwise have reasonably hoped for from me at my death; but to receive with thankfulness, from God's hands, whatsoever it will prove, remembering it to be more than what either myself, or they, were born to, and therefore endeavouring, on their part, by all humble and honest endeavours, to improve the same."

He died, in fact, in very reduced circumstances; nor could it be otherwise, since he never received any pension or remuneration for his long official labours, subsequently to his retirement at the Revolution; while the habits of generosity and hospitality, in which he had indulged, when his means were more ample, terminated only with his life: and these expenses, added to the charges entailed upon him for the education of his Nephews, and the extensive additions which he was constantly making to his library, would have absorbed a larger income than he had ever possessed. There was indeed a balance of £28,007, 2*s*. 1¼*d*. due to him from the Crown, on a long unsettled account, which had grown up during his employments as Treasurer for Tangier, Clerk of the Acts, and Secretary to the Admiralty; and which he bequeathed specifically to be laid out in the purchase of lands for the use of his Nephew and his heirs. The original Vouchers relating to this transaction, as verified on oath by the claimant himself, before Chief Baron Warde, are still in the possession of the Cockerell family; but the times which immediately preceded and followed his decease were unfavourable to the liquidation of the debt, however due as an act of justice, as well as a tribute to the memory of so good and faithful a servant of the public. It is farther to be remarked, that though Pepys's funeral was conducted in a manner suitable to the station which he had adorned,[1] no stone, however humble, marks the spot within St. Olave's Church in which his remains were deposited; the vault is, however, probably contiguous to the monument erected by him to his wife, still to be seen in the chancel beneath.[2]

[1] "London, June 5. Yesterday, in the evening, were performed the obsequies of Samuel Pepys, Esq., in Crutched-Friars' Church; whither his corpse was brought in a very honourable and solemn manner from Clapham, where he departed this life, the 26th day of the last Month."—*Post Boy, No.* 1257. *June* 5, 1703.

[2] I am informed by the Rev. Thomas Boyles Murray, rector of St.

In conclusion, I feel tempted to insert the character of Pepys, given in the Supplement to Collier's Dictionary, though drawn perhaps by a too partial hand, and from which article I have already drawn largely, in compiling this Memoir.

"It may be affirmed of this Gentleman," (says his contemporaneous biographer,) "that he was, without exception, the greatest and most useful Minister that ever filled the same situations in England; the Acts and Registers of the Admiralty proving this fact beyond contradiction. The principal rules and establishments in present use in those offices are well known to have been of his introducing, and most of the officers serving therein, since the Restoration, of his bringing up. He was a most studious promoter and strenuous assertor of order and discipline through all their dependencies. Sobriety, diligence, capacity, loyalty, and subjection to command, were essentials required in all whom he advanced. Where any of these were found wanting, no interest or authority were capable of moving him in favour of the highest pretender; the Royal command only excepted, of which he was also very watchful, to prevent any undue procurements. Discharging his duty to his Prince and Country with a religious application and perfect integrity, he feared no one, courted no one, and neglected his own fortune. Besides this, he was a person of universal worth, and in

Dunstan's in the East, that in the summer of 1836, when the Church of St. Olave, Hart Street, was under repair, a vault was found on the north side of the Communion-table, containing a skull and some bones, which, being uppermost, were probably the remains of Samuel Pepys, he having been the last of his family there interred. It is singular, that in the same spot a stone of the size of a large walnut was discovered among the bones.

In October, 1845, Mr. Murray printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* some particulars respecting Pepys, in connexion with the Parish of St. Olave's, Hart Street, which will be found corroborative of many statements in the Diary.

great estimation among the Literati, for his unbounded reading, his sound judgment, his great elocution, his mastery in method, his singular curiosity, and his uncommon munificence towards the advancement of learning, arts, and industry, in all degrees: to which were joined the severest morality of a philosopher, and all the polite accomplishments of a gentleman, particularly those of music, languages, conversation, and address. He assisted, as one of the Barons of the Cinque Ports, at the Coronation of James II., and was a standing Governor of all the principal houses of charity in and about London, and sat at the head of many other honourable bodies, in divers of which, as he deemed their constitution and methods deserving, he left lasting monuments of his bounty and patronage."

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